THE COMMUNIST

Vol. XI MAY, 1932 No. 5

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May Day, 1932

MAY DAY, 1932, confronts the workers and therefore, our Party, with greater and more important problems than ever. The progressing social bankruptcy of capitalism increases the misery of the workers in the capitalist countries. In the United States alone it keeps twelve million workers in the army of unemployed. It exposes the workers to the ruthless offensive of the capitalists against their earning and living standards. It increases the use of police clubs and capitalist persecution as the main method capitalism applies to counteract the growing dissatisfaction and consequent radicalization of the workers.

At the same time, while the united force of capitalism bears down upon the workers the frictions between the national capitalist groups themselves have increased. While they all want to help themselves by a common policy of greater oppression and exploitation of the workers, they also try to help themselves at the expense of each other. A redistribution of the world has therefore been put on the agenda of history by capitalism. And since such a redistribution can only be effected by the force of war, we face now a new world war. This war is not merely a matter of the future. We are in the midst of it. With Japan's aggression in China the struggle for the distribution of China has entered an acute stage. The war is on. What is undecided yet is the definite immediate form of this war. Shall it be a struggle between the imperialist robbers against each other for the biggest slice of China—or shall it be a united imperialist war against the Soviet Union. At present, in international politics, both of these forms of war are presented. This will continue until one of these forms will break the dam of diplomatic maneuvers and will decide the tie with the force of marching armies and under the blast of shooting cannons.

The decline of capitalism is paralleled by the rapid progress of Socialism in the Soviet Union. It is this progress which drives haggling capitalism into the corral of an anti-Soviet military alliance. It is this progress which puts the danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union into the foreground.

Thus we find the gigantic proportions of the tasks of the working class are determined by the serious economic and political situations. In its internal and its foreign policies capitalist America aims at the further oppression, at a defeat, of the working class. There is noth-

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ing left to do for the workers but to fight. Fight against the capitalist offensive, fight against reduction of their earning and living standards at home, and fight against the imperialist war offensive of our capitalist masters abroad; these are the tasks before us.

The elementary base for these struggles is the present mass misery of the workers. The Hoover government continues its policies of relief for the capitalists, and starvation for the workers. To emphasize this policy as that, not only of a particular party government, but as that of the ruling class, the Democratic majority in Congress executes this Hooverization program. Wage cuts and increased taxes for the masses; government financial relief for the capitalists; potters field for the starving unemployed workers, and a finance reconstruction corporation for the bankers; fat pensions for retired army officers; refusal of the cash bonus to the rank and file soldiers—such are the capitalist measures against depression.

In the field of local politics we find exactly the same practices. The same court in New York that sentenced William Z. Foster, Robert Minor, Israel Amter and Harry Raymond to prison for three years for leading an unemployed demonstration calls the investigation of graft an outrage. It defends a notorious grafter as an "illustrious" citizen. Unquestionably, the Tammanyite Flynn is an illustrious citizen for capitalism, as illustrious a citizen as the courts are illustrious courts.

Percentages are forcibly deducted from teachers' pay as "voluntary" contributions to unemployment relief, while the "illustrious" officials of New York City bank $100,000 and more per year on their accounts at a salary of five or ten thousand dollars.

The bread prices stay up. In spite of the bankruptcy of hundreds of thousands of farmers because of ruinously low grain prices, the starvation of the masses in the cities continues because of ruinously high bread prices. And an illustrious court in New York declared that the desire of the working class mothers for cheaper bread so that they may be able to buy some for their children, does not give them the right to picket the bakeries. Picketing the bakeries, declared the illustrious court, interferes with the supreme constitutional right—the right of the capitalists to make profit even though this practice starves the masses. It becomes clearer every day that the illustrious constitution of American capitalism guarantees and enforces only two rights: the right of the capitalists to make profits, and the right of the masses to starve.

What are the basic conditions facing us this May, 1932? The Plenum of our Central Committee which was held last month,

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states in its main resolution (printed in the April issue of *The Communist*):

> "The further development of the crisis, the bankruptcy of the various illusions spread among the masses by the bourgeoisie, the increasing poverty and misery of the working masses and the immediate danger of war and intervention—all these factors form the basis for the increasing discontent and radicalization of the great masses of workers. The furious offensive of the bourgeoisie is met by increasing resistance on the part of the working class."

The Party's central task is to mobilize the masses in the struggle against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger. In order to be successful we must realize that—

> "In this situation American social fascism (American Federation of Labor, Socialist Party, particularly the Muste wing, with the Lovestone-Cannon renegades) are greatly increasing their activity to carry out the imperialist policy of the bourgeoisie, trying, by establishing the most skillful, deceptive division of work, to divert the radicalized workers from the class struggle against the offensive of the capitalists, to split the ranks of the workers and bring about their defeat. This confronts the Communist Party with the task of increasing, sharpening and improving its fight against social fascism, as *the main enemy in the struggle for the successful mobilization of the masses in the fight against the bourgeois offensive and the war danger.*" (From the Resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee. Emphasis ours.)

Corruption has reached a point where it is no longer merely a method with which one capitalist individual or group buys political advantages over another, but it has become a universal system which is rooted in capitalist commercialism and which, in turn, aggravates this commercialism. Capitalism has reached the point which Karl Marx in his *Poverty of Philosophy*, has characterized as "the time where even things hitherto only conveyed but never exchanged, only given but never sold, only earned but never bought, virtue, love, conviction, knowledge, conscience, etc., in short, where all things become subjects of commerce. It is the time of general corruption, when everything and everybody is for sale, or, to use an economic expression, the time in which every physical as well as moral quantity is thrown on the market as a commodity to be judged at its value."

And exactly this time is selected by the leaders of the so-called Socialist Party to defend capitalist politics against the accusation of inherent corruption. The Rev. Norman Thomas, an outstanding leader of that party, said the other day in a lecture in Schenectady,

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that corruption in American politics is less rampant than critics make believe and that "politics in America . . . is perhaps less corrupt than the ordinary business ethics of an acquisitive society." To people with straight thinking it would seem that only the swine that rolls itself in the mud of capitalism commercialism could claim to be cleaner than the mud. The Rev. Thomas says that democracy is more and more cleansing itself of corruption. The facts say that corruption is more and more disclosing democracy as the tool of capitalism.

The first of May, 1932, also brings us the beginning of a national election campaign. Here we have the opportunity to bring all the acts of the political rule of capitalism before the attentive forum of the American working class. We can say that the widespread democratic illusions of the American workers make the election campaign even more important for us than it is ordinarily in the course of activities of a revolutionary Party. First, because the democratic illusions of the American workers make them see in the election their own acts of self-government. Therefore, they are "politically" minded during this period. And, second, because the waning confidence on the part of the workers in capitalism makes them willing today to listen where formerly prejudices would have closed their ears. What is necessary, however, is that we speak to them about their own problems. The American workers will recognize his class problem only in his own, immediate problem. Any class problem, no matter how real in general, if it is not an obvious problem of the individual worker, remains to him an abstraction, in which he does not interest himself.

The election campaign must be carried on with the understanding that—

> "The sharpest struggle against social fascism during the elections is of the greatest importance. Without detracting the attention to the slightest degree from the struggle against the republicans and democrats as pointed out above, the *chief attention* must be directed to unmasking and combating the socialists and the Muste crowd." (Resolution of the Fourteenth Plenum of the Central Committee.)

Thus we find that the first of May, 1932, not only presents us with great problems, but also with the means and opportunities to contribute to their solution. All the external factors are favorable for the accomplishment of our tasks. What remains is a review of the internal factors, the methods of our Party. Here our first of May review must pause to draw attention to the recent Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party. A review of the methods

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of our Party led our Central Committee Plenum to the conclusion that fundamental changes are required. The inner life of the Party absorbs too much of the energies and activities of the Party members. That is wrong. The inner life of the Party must not sap the energy of the Party members, but generate it. The inner life of the Party must not monopolize the activities of the Party member, but must organize and direct these activities. But the activities themselves must be carried on among the workers—primarily among the workers in the shops; then also among the workers in the unions and other workers' organizations; then also among the unemployed workers on the bread line, at the factory gates and at employment offices.

The inner Party life must be reorganized so that it becomes the source of revolutionary understanding of the workers' problems on the part of the Party member. Thus every Party member will become the spokesman of the Party among the workers; every Party member will become the active force among the workers for the Party's policies; every Party member will become a leader of a smaller or larger section of workers which he organizes around himself in the shop where he works and in the workers' organization where he is organized.

With such changed methods the Party will truly become the spokesman and the leader of large masses of workers. These workers will not only follow Party leadership, but their problems and their close connection with the Party will give it and its activities that degree of concreteness, which is necessary for the change of our Party from a propaganda organization into a proletarian mass Party of action.

We participate in the celebration of May First, 1932, with a clear understanding of our tasks and with the determination to do everything in our power to accomplish them.

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Japan, America and the Soviet Union

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF EARL BROWDER AT THE PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, APRIL 17, 1932

WE are meeting at a moment when tremendous changes are taking place in the world. It is not necessary for me to prove this fact by quoting long lists of statistics to show the unprecedented depth of the crisis. This morning's papers report the bankruptcy of the great Insull power interests—the greatest failure in the history of capitalism, more tremendous, more far-reaching than the Kreuger crash, more important, more devastating in its effects than the crash of the big banks in Germany last year. This is a corporation that rivals the United States Steel Trust in size, power and influence. About two and a half billion dollars is involved in this bankruptcy.

And this is merely one of the things that are becoming daily occurrences. The morning papers also report that the capitalist charity agencies admit themselves practically completely broken down —a complete break-down of the whole system of relief—and that in the coming month hundreds of thousands of people, who have been living upon charity will be thrown upon the streets with nothing whatever.

That is, the condition of potential mass starvation that has existed up to now is becoming actual mass starvation in the United States, and that instead of having to quote figures of 50, 100 or 200 people who died of starvation, we will soon have mass deaths from starvation in the United States.

ON THE BRINK OF A NEW WORLD WAR

There is no sign whatever of any factor appearing which gives any prospects of the capitalists stopping this downward plunge. And upon the basis of this unprecedented, deep-going crisis, we have the sharp, swift developments in international relations. On the basis of this sharpening of the crisis, we have the world on the brink of a new world war. No country in the world except the Soviet Union has escaped being deeply engulfed in the economic crisis. Capitalism has not one single *stable* point of support in its struggle to find a way out. The wildest, fiercest attacks upon the standards of the masses provided no halt to the deepening of the crisis. The sharpening of

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all of the inner antagonisms and contradictions of capitalism has provided the basis for developing to the highest point yet known the international antagonisms.

War, which is the final and supreme arbiter of capitalism has already been invoked to cut a way out of the crisis for the capitalists. Japan, by the seizure of Manchuria, started a chain of events which is already out of all semblance of control by the imperialist world and which inevitably will engulf the entire world in war.

WE ARE NOT PASSIVE OBJECTS OF THE HISTORICAL PROCESS

Capitalism is driven into war by the full force of all of the inner and outer contradictions which have reached a hitherto unknown intensity. Does this mean that we take a fatalistic approach to this question of war, that the forms that this war will assume and the date when it will burst over the entire world are fixed by the objective forces entirely outside of our control and influence? No—not at all. On the contrary. We more and more insist upon the positive role of the Communist Party determining the development of history. We are not passive objects of the historical process. We are one of the forces which make history and direct history. Our function is not that of observers, simply to register the progress of events and to understand them. Our function is to understand the progress of events in order to change and to control the development of these events. And this is true on the question of war as it is true on the simplest details of the life of the working class. Basing ourselves upon the examination and understanding of the objective factors, we have to seize upon and control the direction of developments and especially we must emphasize this fact in the question of war.

Why is it necessary to emphasize this so much? Because there is a tendency in the face of the tremendous world forces that are involved, with the comrades comparing our own puny organizations and our own weak abilities, to feel that the contrast is so great that we are mere chips on ocean waves when we face the problems of war and peace. And there is widespread a feeling of absolute lack of confidence in the ability of the Party to do anything except register the development of events on the question of war and to preserve our revolutionary record and integrity by having on paper a "completely correct" attitude towards these events. But comrades, we cannot be satisfied with this. We have to intervene in the stage of world politics as an effective factor. And this is possible. Small as our efforts have been in the struggle against war in the past weeks, we have already proven that the Communist Party of the United States is a factor in the development of world politics and that with

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proper Bolshevik work on our part it can be a thousand times more effective factor. The demonstrations which we organized against the Japanese Consulates in Chicago, Seattle, and the Embassy in Washington, played a role far beyond the direct number of workers that were involved and shows us that we have not yet even begun to imagine the tremendous mass possibilities that are inherent in the energetic application of the slogans we have put forth.

Why have we been so slow and so weak in developing our struggle against the Japanese Imperialist invasion of China and its bandit war on the Chinese people? Why have we been so weak and so slow in rousing the masses of the United States against the Japanese war provocations against the Soviet Union, against the Japanese mobilization of one hundred thousand troops on the borders of the Soviet Union, against the Japanese concentration of its naval forces on the Pacific maritime coast provinces of the Soviet Union?

There are many reasons for our weakness. The first one I have already mentioned, the lack of faith that we could do anything effective, the lack of understanding of the necessity of our positive active role. Second, theoretical immaturity and confusion on questions of Leninist theory in our Party. When we brought forward the slogans very sharply and concretely, directed against Japanese imperialism which is the spearhead of the development world imperialist war, concretized in the form of the demand for the expulsion of the Japanese imperialist representatives in the United States, for an economic boycott, many of our members did not understand this. In fact, these members had a reaction against these slogans.

Generally within our Party was felt the influence of the Lovestoneite and Trotskyist attacks against these slogans. The Party was not prepared to answer the attacks made upon our slogans by the renegades and by the socialists.

THE LENINIST UTILIZATION OF THE INNER IMPERIALIST ANTAGONISMS

Comrades, let us face this question very sharply and clearly and let us understand in this Plenum whether the raising of these slogans was correct or not; if they are correct, let us have a complete liquidation of all hesitation and all fear and a bold application of the line that these slogans represent.

What is this line? This line is the fullest possible utilization of the inner-imperialist contradictions for the purpose of preventing or hindering the establishment of the imperialist united front against the Soviet Union, and to use as the main instrument for this the mobilization of mass opinion, mass sentiment, mass protest, directed against the particular policies of our own imperialist government,

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and especially against the war acts of the Japanese imperialist government which is already carrying through the war.

What does it mean—utilizing the inner imperialist antagonisms? The Lovestoneites and socialists say this means inciting war between the imperialists in order to prevent war against the Soviet Union. This is a very easy argument to make, and a very cheap argument; this is not a new argument. The same argument was made against Lenin in 1920; the same argument will always be made by every social-democrat in every instance when a Bolshevik policy is being concretely applied in international affairs. Let us recall just for a moment what happened in 1920. This was a year when the Soviet Union was in a most difficult situation; when armies of intervention still occupied a large portion of the territory of the Soviet Union; when industry was down to about 20% of pre-war; when famine was already beginning to raise its head in vast territories of the Soviet Union. In spite of all of these tremendous difficulties the Soviet Union was able, not only through the courage and sacrifice of the Russian workers and the Red Army, but, above all, by the masterly strategy of Lenin, to break through this imperialist ring and to secure for itself a long period of uninterrupted opportunities of socialist constuction, the fruits of which we have today in the preparations for the second Five Year Plan which will place the Soviet Union next to the United States in world economy.

In 1920 one of the principal factors which was used by Lenin in achieving this long breathing space was precisely the use of the Japanese-American antagonisms. This was used to such an extent that at the Washington Conference, the nine Power Conference which broke the Anglo-Japanese alliance and which signed the famous, or notorious, nine Power Treaty regarding China—at this Washington Conference the influence of the United States was one of the chief factors used to force Japan to evacuate territory in Siberia and to turn the Chinese-Eastern Railroad back to joint Soviet Chinese administration. Is anyone so naive as to think that these results would have been achieved without the active intervention of Soviet diplomacy? The hand of Lenin directing the power of the Russian working class was a decisive factor in bringing this about. At that time Lenin was accused of inciting war between Japan and the United States, and in a speech to the Moscow Party Conference on November 20, 1920, he answered these charges.

> "Japanese public opinion is already boiling against the Soviet Union, and today I read a news item saying that Japan accused Soviet Russia of trying to instigate Japan against America. We correctly evaluated the sharpness of the imperialist rivalry and said to ourselves that we must systematically utilize the differences between

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them in order to make it difficult for them to fight us. The political disagreement between England and France is already clear. Now we can speak not only about a breathing spell but about serious chances of our new construction for a long period."

Comrade Lenin in a report to the fraction of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the 8th Congress of the Soviets analyzed the end of the intervention in Russia, and, referring to the conflicts developing between Japan and America, stated as follows:

"And so there has developed a gigantic, sharp struggle between Japan and America and thus there has developed undoubtedly a weakening of the attack of Japan and America against us.

"At a meeting of the responsible Party workers in Moscow where I had to refer to this fact, the following question was asked during the discussion: 'It appears, as was written by one of the comrades, that we are instigating Japan in a war against America, but the fighting will be done by the workers and peasants. And although these are imperialist powers, is it for us socialists to instigate a war between two powers and thus bring about the shedding of the blood of the workers?' I answered as follows: That if we actually did instigate a war of the workers and peasants, this would be a crime. But our entire policy and propaganda is directed, not to instigate wars between nations, but rather to bring an end to war. And our experience has amply proven that a social revolution is the only way to end wars forever. Therefore, our policy does not consist in instigating or creating wars. We have done nothing which would have justified a war directly or indirectly between Japan and America. Our entire propaganda and all the articles in the press are full of explanations regarding the truth that a war between America and Japan would be an imperialist war the same as the war between the English group and the German group in 1914, that socialists will have to think, not of the defense of the fatherland, but about the overthrow of capitalist rule. They will have to think of the proletarian revolution.

"But we, who are doing everything in our power to hasten the coming of this revolution, and find ourselves in a condition of a weak socialist republic which is attacked by imperialist murderers, is our policy of utilizing the differences between those imperialist robbers, of making more difficult their unity against us a correct one? Of course, such a policy is correct. We carried it on for the last four years. And the chief manifestation of this policy was the Brest Treaty. While German imperialism resisted the enemies, we having made use of the differences between the imperialist powers themselves, were able to hold out even then when the Red Army was not yet created."

In a speech delivered to the Moscow District Party Conference on the 20th of November, 1920, Lenin stated the following:

"If you will take, for example, two imperialist countries, Japan and America. They want to fight, they will fight for the supre-

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> macy in the world, for the right to rob. Of course, the defense of the fatherland in such a war would be the greatest crime, would be a betrayal of Socialism. Of course, the *support* of one country against another will be a crime against Communism. But we Communists must *utilize* one country against the other. Do we then commit a crime against Communism? No. Because we do that as a socialist government which leads Communist propaganda and which is compelled to make use of every hour given by the circumstances for the purpose of strengthening itself with the greatest speed."

Lenin further states in the same speech:

> "It would have been still safer for us if the imperialist powers would actually be in a war with each other. If we are compelled to tolerate such scoundrels as the capitalist thieves who sharpen their knives upon us, our direct duty is to turn those knives against themselves. When thieves fall out, honest men get their due."

Comrades, it was precisely by understanding the sharpness of the antagonisms between Japan and America, (of course, not only by this,) that the Soviet Union was able to gain this long period of opportunity for construction, and precisely by boldly persisting along this course, and disregarding all social-democratic charges of instigation of war, that the war against the Soviet Union was stopped in 1920 and the achievements of the Five Year Plan were made possible.

Comrades, today the Soviet Union is facing the most dangerous point since 1920. Today there is taking place the most tremendous efforts to solve for the moment the inter-imperialist antagonisms on the basis of a united struggle against the Soviet Union. Such strong efforts were never made before, because never before did they have behind them such driving force of accumulated inner and outer antagonisms. And today when war has already become a question of weeks or months, we, the Communist Party, the Communist International, have a task which is very difficult to carry through, but which acquires the most tremendous importance that it shall be carried through.

OUR ACTIONS CAN POSTPONE THE WAR

Do we have any illusions that we can prevent war altogether? No, we have no such illusions. But our actions can postpone the war, provided we really mobilize the masses, making use of every opportunity for mass mobilization, to create every possible difficulty for the imperialists; we can force the postponement of this war, and postponement is not a small thing, comrades. In the present conditions, we must understand that in the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat against world imperialism, our stronghold, our

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fortress is precisely the Soviet Union, and its socialist construction. And we must understand that this socialist construction, the building of the socialist economy in the Soviet Union, is so profoundly important for the resistence to and the crushing of this imperialist war, that every month that is gained in postponing this war, means a change of the relation of forces in favor of us when the war comes. If the war can be postponed one month it means capitalism has been weakened that much, Socialism has been strengthened that much. It means that the Soviet Union has had another full 30 days to readjust all of its inner forces to meet the serious every day necessities that war will throw upon them.

When you understand that, you understand that not only every month is important, but every week is important, every day is important. You could almost even say that every hour is important. Our whole strategy is based upon the necessity to mobilize all forces by every means to postpone the outbreak of war, and the strategy of the imperialists is to force war as quickly as possible.

How can we mobilize the widest possible mass resistance to the entrance of the United States into war against the Soviet Union? Precisely by making use to the fullest possible extent of this certain historical factor, that the spearhead of the war is Japan and between Japan and the United States there is a long standing antagonism which, independently of us, has developed mass sentiment against Japanese imperialism. It is an absolute Bolshevik duty for the Communist Party of the United States to make the fullest possible mobilization of this mass sentiment no matter what its origin, against Japanese imperialism, mobilize this sentiment against the United States government to prevent it from entering into war against the Soviet Union together with Japan and the other imperialist powers.

The fullest possible mobilization of all such forces may not suffice to prevent whatever alignment will be determined by the capitalist class, by finance capital, upon the basis of their special specific understanding of their class interests. But even in the worst case, our mobilization can create additional difficulties for them, can weaken their mobilization to a certain extent, and thereby strengthen the capacity for resistance of the Soviet Union and the world proletariat. I do not think it is necessary to go into any long theoretical arguments to show how this is not only an immediate duty, necessity, in the struggle against imperialist war, but that this is a really Leninist, Bolshevik method of struggle against war. Of course, there are dangers and difficulties. There are always dangers and difficulties in Bolshevik mass work. It is impossible to carry through a real Bolshevik line at any time without constant struggle against deviations, a struggle on two fronts.

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But if the struggle against deviations and against distortions of the line takes such forms as to unsettle the confidence of the Party in the line itself, then such a kind of struggle against deviations has a great danger not of strengthening and deepening the line, but of defeating the line. Our first task is to make the Party understand that this line is correct, and not only must there be no slackening in it, but there must be 100 times more energetic carrying through of this line and real mass mobilization for it.

SOME ERRORS

In this respect it is necessary for me to say a few words about some errors precisely on this point, that were made by the Political Buro and for which I am primarily responsible. I think that it is absolutely necessary that this be elaborated.

I think it is necessary for us to be very specific. I am going to assume that you comrades are all familiar with my article which was pretty generally discussed in the Party last October, and printed in pamphlet form.*

Wherein lie the mistakes in this article? The main and basic mistake of this article, which contained much that was correct, was that it tended to close the doors against the possibilities of developing precisely this struggle that we are developing now, a struggle to prevent the unification of United States and Japan against the Soviet Union, because the article assumed that this unification was already completed.

We brought forward and developed the interpretation of certain facts, certain events, in the process of the re-grouping of the imperialist powers. These events briefly were that in September-October, when Japan was carrying through the stroke of seizing Manchuria, contrary to our expectations, the United States instead of sharpening its relations with Japan, gave at that moment more open diplomatic support to Japan than even did the League of Nations. The further fact that while the United States warned Japan not to go South of the Great Wall, yet the United States definitely encouraged Japan to penetrate deeper into Manchuria and drive toward the Soviet border. At the same time, the United States, which had gotten into difficulties in attempting to seize the initiative in European developments by the Hoover moratorium, which had suffered a very sharp attack upon the dollar by France, was forced to make big concessions to France in the Hoover-Laval conversations. And it was quite clear from the first days that the French support of Japan in the Far East had a firm basis of under-

*Secret Hoover-Laval War Pacts.

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standing between these two countries. This conjuncture, this momentary moving toward one another of Japan, France, and the United States, at a moment when Great Britain was comparatively isolated and suffering under its most intense difficulties of this period —these facts which were recognized by us, were interpreted by us, especially by myself, as a relatively fixed constellation of forces, and even some tendency to describe it as a definite bloc.

Without pretending to give a complete and thorough analysis of this very complicated problem, I only want to mention a few of the fundamental faults of this conception. First, it considered possible such a quick and painless welding of a fixed imperialist bloc of such large dimensions without the steel-hammer blows of actual war. Second, it underestimated the recuperative powers of British Imperialism and its ability to diplomatically intervene to prevent the consummation of this bloc. Third, it did not take into consideration the possbility, which later becomes a reality, when Japan took Shanghai in bloody battle, that Japan's appetite could not be satisfied with what the United States could agree to concede.

We did not take into consideration, for example, that Japanese imperialists undoubtedly argued with themselves somewhat to the following effect: "Why should we make this highly dangerous drive against the Soviet Union alone, leaving behind us the rich and easily plucked plum of Shanghai for America to take possession of when we busily engage in war on the Soviet Union?"

Fourth, it did not take into consideration the effectiveness of the peace policy of the Soviet Union in influencing the tempo of crystallization of this united front. It did not take into account that the Soviet Union is actively engaged in trying to prevent this consummation and did not take into account the influence of the revolutionary working class within the capitalist countries and its attempt to hinder this development.

Fifth, by implication we assumed that this imperialist united front was a pre-condition for the beginning of war, and did not show how the imperialists form their alliances mainly in the course of actual war.

Sixth, because of the general treatment of the question mostly from the point of view of the interpretation of the events of a short period, without consideration for the possibilities of changing this development and directing this development by the forces of the world revolution. Because of this, we failed to put as the foremost point, our task of smashing this united front of imperialism against the Soviet Union, by assuming that this united front was already a fact not only against the Soviet Union but on other chief

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questions, when subsequent events showed that this was not so. Thus we tended to weaken the role of the working class in determining the course of events.

Seventh, we tried to simplify the task of simultaneous struggle against American imperialism and Japanese imperialism by imputing to them the unity of purpose in a common program which it was impossible for them to obtain under these circumstances. It is impossible for us to solve our problems by such simplification. It is necessary for us to find the forms of struggle whereby we mobilize the full measure of mass opposition against Japanese imperialism and at the same time against American imperialism which is in sharp contradiction with Japan. We cannot evade this difficult task by lumping the two together as expressing a non-existent united policy.

I have taken so much time to go into an analysis of this question because if it had not been corrected, it could have very seriously hindered the development of our struggle against war. But these errors become especially important now because analysis of them shows to us not only the character of our weaknesses last fall but also threw a lot of light upon the weaknesses of our work at this moment, and help us to understand how to strengthen our struggle against the war at this time.

The thing that we can never forget and which has to be emphasized every moment is that the weapon for the execution of this policy is the mobilization of the masses as an independent force, giving mass expression to the sentiments against the imperialist powers and bringing them into as sharp collision as possible with all the forces of American imperialism. We have proven that this is possible. We have proven the political value of it, a political value which extends to every phase of the struggle, from the daily struggles at home to the largest questions of world politics. The fight before the Japanese Consulate in Chicago was a real Bolshevik deed which echoed throughout the world. It profoundly embarrassed American imperialism. I hope the comrades have read several editorials that we have written about the Washington and Chicago demonstrations and the problems that they have already created for Mr. Stimson.

The struggle against war is concerned not only with these more complicated difficult problems. The struggle against the war danger, the defense of the Soviet Union cannot wield much force behind it unless it is intimately connected up with and based upon concrete struggles for partial demands of the workers in the United States.

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Lessons of the Strike Struggles in the U. S. A.

RESOLUTION OF THE E. C. C. I.

UNDER the most difficult conditions of the economic crisis and tremendous mass unemployment, the American proletariat, through the growing number of strike struggles, has offered considerable resistance to the general offensive of dollar capitalism during 1931. The heroic struggle of the 40,000 miners of Pennsylvania, in which the Communists and the revolutionary trade unions played the leading role, had the greatest significance.

Since it is to be assumed that the strike movement will develop further during the course of this year, and will eventually grow, it seems to be all the more important that the C. P., U.S.A. and the revolutionary trade unions should thoroughly master the lessons of the previous strikes, especially the Pennsylvania strike.

1. *The preparatory work* for the miners' strike was very weak, not carried out in due time and not sufficiently thorough, although undoubtedly the efforts of the Party and the red trade unions to improve the work during the months previous to the outbreak of the strike played an essential role in the mobilization of the workers for the strike. But despite that, the work among the miners did not receive enough systematic attention, their militancy was underestimated, and above all, the development of the local organizations of the Party and the red trade unions in the whole district of Pennsylvania was in a weak and neglected state when the strike broke out. This was *one of the main causes for the weaknesses* which became apparent in the leadership of the strike and contributed to the fact that after twelve weeks, the strike ended with a defeat for the workers.

Because the reformist miners' organization in Pennsylvania had already previously been liquidated as a mass organization, and the workers in general had lost faith in the reformist trade union leaders, it was possible in this case to get the leadership of the mass movement into the hands of the revolutionary trade unions. And it is to be emphasized as a *Bolshevik deed* of our American comrades, that despite all the weaknesses of their organization, they resolutely placed themselves at the head of this gigantic struggle. It must also be acknowledged that the Communist group which was at the head of

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the strike worked with great energy during the entire struggle and at first also achieved much success. What was especially important was not only that they succeeded in organizing the *central strike committee* out of several hundred elected representatives of the great masses of the miners, but also that they quite generally carried through the *election of local strike committees* in the individual pits.

Along with these positive achievements a number of serious mistakes and shortcomings also manifested themselves.

2. The Communists in the strike leadership were unaware of the necessity and importance of strengthening, extending and founding of *local party and trade union organizations* and having these work regularly and most intensively during the strike and for the strike—*as the necessary and most important backbone of a successful leadership of the strike.* Since the development of the lower trade union organizations had been so very neglected before the strike, it would have been all the more necessary, at least immediately after the outbreak of the strike, to take this task in hand with the greatest energy all over the strike region. It was not a mistake in such an extraordinary case as this strike, to also bring in able Communist forces as reinforcements from other districts, as was done in agreement with the Political Bureau. But *only the higher strike apparatus* was strengthened and not the lower local revolutionary organizations. On the contrary, at the beginning, some of the local Party committees were even weakened and temporarily almost ceased to function through requisitioning their functionaries for the exclusive disposal of the central strike apparatus.

That was a very serious mistake, as it was clear beforehand that the Communists could not succeed in really firmly leading to the end the tremendous mass action which was taking place in the coalfields which are very distant from one another, if they relied only upon the central strike leadership and its travelling representatives without establishing local leadership and organizations and securing their permanent work among the masses. It was an exaggeration to state that "a denial of the leading role of the Party" expressed itself in this mistake; as the Communist group in the central strike leadership genuinely wanted to loyally work according to the directives of the Party leadership, precisely to realize "the leading role of the Party" in this strike, on the instruction of the Party leadership. But it misjudged the leading role of the *local* Party organizations and denied this through its practice, and thereby a dangerous possibility was created for the later isolation of the broad masses of the strikers from the influence of the strike leadership. Only with the help of the greatest possible number of local Party and trade union com-

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mittees and pit nuclei, only through their formation, strengthening and mobilization, and rousing them to untiring work among the broad masses of the strikers, would it have been possible to correctly lead the strike.

3. *Clarity was lacking on the basic line* which the Communists had to keep in mind as a rule of conduct. It was entirely necessary that during the course of the strike, the Party leadership should have criticized the Communist group which was active in the strike leadership for the above-mentioned mistake and demanded a correction of this mistake. The Political Bureau should have done this very much earlier than it did. The Political Bureau on its side did not only not understand, in this criticism (resolution of the Political Bureau of July 5, 1931) how to clearly link up the task of the development of the Party, which it correctly emphasized as urgent, with the actual and no less urgent task of doing everything possible to *win the miners' strike.* It was not made clear that a separation and counterposing of these two tasks, or the emphasis of the one *at the expense* of the other, conceals within itself the danger of a political one-sidedness or deviation. A lack of clarity remained as to what was to be characterized as the *main object* that the Communists were to pursue in the strike struggle: that if one wants to state the main object in *one* word, and in doing so avoid the danger of one-sidedness, then neither the simple winning of the material results which are contained in the strike demands nor the mere utilization of the strike for the strengthening of the Party organization, should be designated as the main object, but that, on the contrary, the *revolutionization of the striking workers* should be the main object. The most important thing is that the Communists strive, through their agitation as well as through their entire participation in the strike, to give the broad masses of the strikers the experience and the firm conviction that *the Communists have advocated or carried through correct strike tactics and strike leadership.* It is, however, impossible to instill this conviction into the masses of the striking workers if the Communists do not exert all their energy in the struggle against the employers so as to win the strike.

Of course, material success is not always possible in a strike, and it is not an *absolute* pre-requisite for the political success of the struggle; but it must never be forgotten that *without a most serious struggle for the material outcome, there can be no prospect of political success* in the strike. If the striking workers will not get this "experience" with regard to the participation of the Communists in the strike, when they will not become revolutionized by our revolutionary agitation and we will see ourselves being deprived of the

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entire *mass basis* for the successful enrollment of the workers for our revolutionary organizations in connection with the respective strike.

In this sense the basic line of Communist strike tactics should have been made clear to our own comrades, in order to avoid all one-sidedness and lack of clarity in the presentation of this question.

4. The work of the Communist groups in the strike leadership showed serious neglect in the organization of broad cadres of strikers for the purpose of the constant activization of the masses. In the first stage of this strike there were wide spontaneous mass activities, but what was lacking was a network of sufficiently broad organs which could systematically lead and develop this activity and which would also have been in a position to assure the carrying through of the necessary tasks during the strike. The picket line duty also should have necessitated the formation of special committees through the activities of which ever new workers should have been drawn into the picket line and through the constant control of which the decrease in the number of workers on picket duty towards the end of the strike could have been prevented. Also for the organization of the collections of money and foodstuffs, in which thousands of workers participated, it would have been necessary to form the broadest possible committees in each place for the increase of this activity during the entire course of the strike. Such committees should also have been formed for the organization of the defensive struggle against the employers and the police terror, against evictions, for the organization of agitation and propaganda in the various districts, etc. A wide network of such local auxiliary organs of the strike committee would have made possible the consolidation of the broad strike cadres, of the most active workers, with the help of whom the Communist committees could have really led the big mass movement.

Our comrades overlooked the fact that even the most intensive work of the relatively small active part of the strike committee can in no way replace the necessary work of the broad strike cadres consisting not only of hundreds but of thousands of workers. Our comrades did not understand that the limitation of this big movement to a relatively small "active" created the danger of later separating the broad masses from the strike committee.

5. *Shortcomings in the use of the forms of proletarian democracy.* The application of the forms of proletarian democracy during the strike is one of the most essential pre-conditions for consolidation of the fighting front and the disciplining of the broad mass of the strikers. It also certainly was of great importance in this strike that a central strike committee and pretty generally the local strike

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committees of the various mines were elected. But shortcomings in the use of the forms of proletarian democracy during the strike led to the fact that the strike committees could not carry through to the end the task of consolidating the strikers. The moment the strike broke out it was up to the Communists to bring up for the decision of the workers the question of the necessity of having a united leadership of the struggle in all its stages, and if, in the course of the strike, a part of the strikers were of the opinion that it was time to break off the strike, they should not do this on their own initiative, but all the strikers themselves should determine by vote whether and how the strike should be ended. Not only the active elements of the workers, but all sections of the workers, including those who had begun to hesitate, had to understand that they also have the right to have their voices heard in the strike. We should have developed such confidence among all of the workers that even the vacillating elements would turn to the leading bodies with their wishes, doubts and demands.

The use of the ballot during the strike could, of course, not replace the strongest activity of the strike committee. But this form of proletarian democracy would have been necessary as a preliminary condition for the consolidation and unification of the strike front and the activities in the most important stages of the struggle and for the maintenance and strengthening of the position of the strike committee. Especially at the moment when marked waverings began to arise among the broad masses of the strikers, as a result of starvation, terror and the influence of our opponents, the strike committee had to make an attempt to prevent the splitting up of the strikers, with the aid of a ballot on the question as to whether the strike should be carried on further or terminated, and to pull the entire mass of the strikers together for a united advance. The strike committee should have utilized this ballot so as to win the wavering masses of the strikers for the continuation of the strike. However, had the majority of the strikers decided for the termination of the strike, despite this, then the strike committee would have had the possibility of setting out upon a unified retreat with the entire masses of the strikers.

6. *There was no determined course to mobilize every possible support from outside.* Although the significance of the local collection was correctly emphasized in such an important struggle it was of course necessary that the greatest possible attention should have been paid to the relief campaign on a national scale.

The Party, however, made entirely insufficient efforts to mobilize the masses outside of the strike region for the support of the strike

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and to develop a protest campaign on a national scale against the terrific terror which was being carried on against the miners. The strike committee had correctly emphasized the necessity to strengthening such support from outside, but this was certainly no justification to underestimate the immediate and most urgent (but not in any way conflicting) task of mobilizing all forces in the strike area itself and the extension of the strike to the immediate neighborhood (Fayette and Westmorland).

The convocation of the national conference of the miners was a step in the direction of extending active mobilization of supporting actions for the strike, though there was decidedly a lack of clarity in the decisions adopted at this conference. This lack of clarity consisted in the fact that in the generally correct orientation the opportunity was missed to work out concrete mobilization measures for the coal industry outside the strike region and, at the same time, this was not linked up with the strongest emphasis on the concentration upon the immediate practical tasks in the strike area itself, such as, for example, the consolidation of the strike which was extending, measures against the tendencies which were beginning to arise for the resumption of work, concentration of all forces of the strike and of the conference for the extension of the strike to the surrounding districts and, finally, above all, the intensification of the relief campaign on a national scale, of the solidarity actions and protest demonstrations—everything that would have directly strengthened the strike and have given a firm basis for the measures towards the practical realization of a national strike. The conference contributed towards establishing a closer connection between the shortcomings of the conference was that the workers who were under the leadership of the Musteite Keeny where not represented there. A weakness on the part of the Party manifested itself in its not understanding the necessity of utilizing the influence gained through the strike to develop the movement in the other branches of industry, especially among the steel workers in the region of Pittsburgh.

7. *There was no live connection between the strike committee and the broad masses of the strikers.* Since the leading Communist group had failed to establish a properly functioning strike apparatus through the formation and development of broad cadres of strikers, it was also not in a position to get a clear picture of the strike situation at every moment, to quickly react to all events, to establish a systematic and very close connection with the strikers and to everywhere lead and control the daily work among the strikers. Therefore, the strike committee did not take correct measures in sufficiently good time when the first signs of wavering appeared among the striking work-

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ers. Entirely insufficient individual work was carried on among the striking workers through the lower Party and trade union organs, insufficient attention was paid to the organization of special enlightenment campaigns, to the raising of sufficient relief in the shape of food supplies and particularly the provision of special shelter (tents) and a greater extension of the relief activities. As a result of the lack of daily, direct influencing of the strikers by the strike committee, the disintegration of a part of the strikers was facilitated through the terror carried on by the employers, the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists, without opportune counter-measures being taken immediately. The Communist group in the strike committee omitted to build up mine nuclei and the lower trade union organizations with the help of which they could have developed and controlled the mass work of the lower strike committees and of the various commissions and committees. The strike committee did not guarantee this close contact because the strike committee, despite the democratic forms (elections, resolutions on all questions) was mainly a democratic body in form only, whereas in reality important questions were very often decided upon a too narrow basis and delegates from the strike committees were only drawn in so as to "confirm" questions or to "demonstrate" the attitude of the strikers on some question or other. In this way it was also more difficult for the wavering miners to express their moods and opinions in the strike committee. Reports of organizers which began to reflect the vacillating mood of the miners were not listened to seriously and taken into consideration, while exaggerating "optimistic" reports which coincided with the desires of the strike committee were welcomed. This lack of a direct connection between the strike committee and the strikers manifested itself most sharply in the fact that in the last stage of the strike, the strike committee did not notice that it no longer led the majority of the strikers but only a small part of them. These mistakes of the strike leadership in not establishing a real, live contact with the entire mass of the strikers from the beginning of the strike by means of the strike organs and a lower Party and trade union organizations—led to the fact that from a definite development of the struggle onwards the strike committees had lost the leadership over the mass of the strikers.

8. *The failure of the Communist strike leadership in the ending of the strike.* As a result of all the above-mentioned neglect during the strike, the moment was not very far off when it was no longer possible to maintain the determination of the masses to continue the struggle up to the successful termination of the strike. The

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strike committee should have carefully estimated all the circumstances and have had a clear perspective of the development of the struggle so as to quite consciously prepare itself not only for the possibility of a victory, but also for the other possibility that a situation could arise where an orderly retreat would have to be made.

It ws not a question of carrying on the strike as long as possible ("up to the last minute") but it was rather a question of using every possible means for the extension of the strike, of mobilizing all reserves, but after analyzing the situation, when it became clear that we were no longer in a position to convince the masses that the strike should be continued (at least for a few days longer), a concerted and well-ordered retreat should have been effected together with the whole mass of the strikers. Such a retreat would not have weakened but would only have strengthened the authority of the Communists and the red trade union. The masses would not have had the impression that the Communists, without consideration for the masses, want to carry on an endless strike, but on the contrary, precisely after a well-ordered retreat, they would have realized that the Communists also know how, when there is no longer any prospect of winning the strike, when the greatest part of the masses is already exhausted, to call off the strike in a concerted and well-ordered manner. Of course it was not to be pre-supposed that all the workers wanted to end the strike at the same time. In all probability, a minority and precisely the most active and most revolutionary part of the workers would have opposed the ending of the strike. At this point, the strike committee would have been obliged to convince this minority that the immediate retreat was in the interests of the preparation for further struggles. Owing to the fact that the strike committee not only recognized the situation among the mass of the strikers too late, but also because it did not have the understanding and real Bolshevik courage to organize and carry through a well-ordered retreat at the right moment, it made a split among the workers possible, and indeed in such a way that the majority of the workers who had gone back to the mines appeared to be strike-breakers to the minority and that the employers could make use of this situation in order to victimize thousands of workers of the active minority. This bad outcome of the strike became a serious obstacle for the strengthening of the union after the strike and especially for the further development of the revolutionary work in this region.

After the ending of the strike it was necessary that the strike committee should have immediately carried on an energetic cam-

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paign among the entire mass of the workers who had participated in the strike, regarding all the lessons of the strike, but this did not take place to a sufficient extent.

9. In the Pennsylvania strike the *reformists* in the main disclosed before the masses their open *strike-breaking* position, and undisguisedly tried to help the employers to defeat the strike. On the other hand, with regard to most of the other strikes of the year, the reformist trade unions did not play such a simple and undisguised role, but, on the contrary, the participated in the strikes, led them in order to *betray* them at the opportune moment. They led the strikes in order to make them leaderless.

Against this cunning "left" reformist tactic of strike betrayal, the American Communists were sometimes rather helpless and by their tactical mistakes they, in some cases, played into the hands of the "left" reformists in their treacherous game. Wherever the Communists in their mass agitation before the strike simply asserted that the reformists would on no account take part in the strike, whereas the latter by joining the strike, were able to give the lie to this assertion, the Communists through this clumsy tactic were placed in an awkward position, where it became much more difficult for them to make the masses believe during the strike that the reformist trade union leaders were bound to betray the struggle. The Communists should have prepared the masses of the workers from the beginning for the *various* tactical subterfuges of the reformists: for open or disguised strike-breaking, as well as for an open or disguised betrayal of the strike. For instance, the strike in Pennsylvania, the second strike in Lawrence, and the strike in Paterson, have shown three different types of the reformist tactics in this respect (open strike-breaking, open betrayal after a certain time and disguised betrayal).

10. Our comrades in Lawrence and Paterson have tried to carry out the task of the *struggle for independent leadership of the strike* in a sectarian manner. In this struggle, wherever we first have minorities on our side in comparison with the reformist trade unions, we are inevitably faced with real difficulties that can be overcome only by successful work for the mobilization of the masses for independent struggles. But our comrades wanted to skip over these real difficulties and tasks of mass mobilization and for this purpose at the beginning of the strike movement, in Lawrence and also in Paterson, they made attempts to take the leadership of the strike into their own hands without the consent of the broad masses of the workers and on this account they inevitably failed.

It was certainly not sufficient that in Lawrence where it was a

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question of a strike of thousands of workers (23,000) only a few general meetings were held, after which the strike was immediately declared on the initiative of one department of a factory already won over by us. This was sufficient for the development of the great strike movement, because the fighting spirit was rather general among the textile workers, but it was not sufficient for the mobilization of the masses for an autonomous struggle carried on *independently* of the reformist union. The latter was, however, much more important than that the strike should begin as quickly as possible. Before declaring the strike our comrades should have immediately brought up the most important questions of the strike for discussion by the mass of the workers in a whole series of enterprises: why the strike is necessary, what are the prospects of winning the strike, why the strike must be carried on independently of the reformist union if success is to be attained, what strike demands should be raised, when should the strike be begun, and the election of a strike committee for the particular factory. Our comrades should have made their revolutionary standpoint on each of these questions clear to the workers of all the most important textile factories before the strike in Lawrence. In all probability this might still have not meant that before the strike we would have succeeded in putting through the election of revolutionary candidates for the strike committee in the majority of the factories (or on the whole the election of the strike committee in all the factories). But that would at least have been a serious beginning for undermining the hegemony of the reformist union and in that case we could have successfully continued, in the course of the strike, to utilize the mass base which had already been gained.

In Paterson our comrades declared the strike for a definite date, whereupon the "left" reformists (among whom were also the Lovestoneites) responded with the declaration that the strike would begin a few days later. That was a reformist move with the obvious purpose of splitting the front of the workers with the subordinate question of the exact date of the strike and isolating the revolutionary trade union. And our comrades fell into this trap. They did not place before the masses of the workers the most *important* questions of the strike and as to how our line for the strike differed from that of the reformists; they also did not take up in the factories the struggle against the reformists and the election of a single strike committee elected by all the workers (in the election of which the reformist workers would also have participated) but, on the contrary, they followed the line of least resistance and began the strike with a minority which soon became isolated from the

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majority of the workers. When the reformists started the strike a few days later, they did not have to carry on any special struggle for the support of this majority.

11. Especially in the Lawrence strike did our comrades carry their sectarian line further with blind consistency; instead of sending the conscious, revolutionary advance-guard of the strikers into the midst of the masses which were following the reformists in order to constantly enlighten these workers on the dangerous, treacherous tactics of the reformist trade union leaders, our comrades on the contrary, separated the conscious advance-guard from the broad mass of the strikers, and formed out of it a small, *isolated minority front* with its own parallel strike organs. Two parallel central strike committees were functioning but there were no strike committees elected in the factories. There were two parallel picket lines and two kinds of general strike meetings were held simultaneously, and, as a rule, there were many thousands who participated in the reformist meetings while there were considerably smaller numbers in the strike meetings that were organized by our union. That made the game very easy for the reformist trade union leaders. They only had to say to the workers: "Do not go to the Communists who weaken the general strike front through their splitting tactics. Whoever will go with the Communists will only sacrifice himself to the reprisals of the employers and will spoil the chances of terminating the strike by concluding a good wage agreement since the employers will under no circumstances make an agreement with the Communists." This, of course, had more effect upon the majority of the workers than the slogans and appeals which our comrades addressed to the masses *from the outside*. The fact that the Communists kept on speaking about the "united front" and even named their own strike committee, which was only elected by a small minority, the "united front strike committee" could not help matters, because in actual fact by this sectarian approach to the tactic of the united front, the reformists were aided in the demagogic charges that the Communists pursued the tactic of the *separate front*. Reformist workers replied to the appeal of the Communists for a united front by saying: "Come to us, to our meetings, that is how we will make a united front with you!" But the Communists did not come.

12. The real application of the tactic of the united front from below would have necessitated the following in Lawrence and Paterson: (1) that before the strike as well as in the course of the strike, our comrades should have daily been in the closest living contact with the masses of the workers who were under the influence of the reformists; (2) that they should have proposed to the masses

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of the workers that in the interest of a solid united front they should themselves vote in all the factories concerned as to when the strike should begin and should decide whether a united central strike committee should be elected to lead the entire strike, which workers should be delegated to the strike committee from the factories, what demands they should fight for, etc. The red trade unions should have declared themselves ready to adopt the decisions of the majority of the workers in the interest of the common struggle against the employers; (3) that in the course of the struggle our comrades had to constantly and everywhere in the midst of the masses of the workers, also in all reformist mass meetings, explain the objective conditions to the workers, the methods of the successful extension of the strike as well as the danger of a defeat which could not only arise through the actions of the employers and the police, but also through the tactics and the treacherous capitulation of the reformist trade union leaders. Against this danger, the Communists should in every way have led the masses forward to activity which is independent of the reformist trade union leaders and at the opportune moment their removal from the strike leadership should have been proposed. In order to do this, however, the Communists themselves, the whole time, through their energetic and dauntless activities in the struggle against the employers, police and the gangsters, should have shown the masses that the reformists lie when they state that the Communists are not interested in the victory of the workers' struggles but only to make use of these struggles for their "Party purposes."

Thus our comrades should have helped the masses of the striking workers to liberate themselves from the influence of the reformists and precisely that is basically the most important thing for the real, practical revolutionization of the workers. The Bolshevist tactic of the united front serves this purpose and it is inconsistent with all kinds of combinations with the reformists and negotiations behind the scenes as well as united front proposals from above which are made by us. "The united front is not an intermediary thing between reformist and revolutionary tactics to which mistaken conception some elements in our ranks contribute, but is a combination of workers who are ready to fight against the employers." (Theses of the Eighth Plenum of the Central Council of the Red International of Labor Unions.)

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Lenin's Instructions to the Delegation at the Hague Conference*

WITH reference to the question of combating the danger of war, in relation to the Hague conference, I am of the opinion that the greatest difficulty consists in overcoming that prejudice which regards this question as if it were simple, plain and comparatively easy.

"We shall reply to war with strike or revolution"—this is the phrase customarily employed by all the influential leaders among the reformists of the working class. And often enough the workers and peasants are satisfied and quietened by the radical appearance of such replies.

Perhaps the best method would be to begin with a most determined rejection of such views. It should be explained that particularly at the present time, since the last war, none but the completest fools and most hopeless liars could suppose that a reply of this description is of any value whatever towards the solution of the problem of war against war. It should be explained that it is impossible to reply to a war by a "revolution" in the plain and literal sense of the word.

It must be definitely explained how great is the secrecy surrounding the birth of a war, and how helpless is an ordinary labor organization, in face of a really impending war.

It must be explained over and over again, in a thoroughly concrete manner how the situation was during the last war, and as to the reasons why the situation could not be otherwise.

Special attention must be called to the fact that the question of "defense of the home country" will inevitably be put, and that the overwhelming majority of the workers will inevitably solve this question in favor of their own bourgeoisie.

* These instructions were written by Lenin on December 4, 1922, as a guide to the Russian delegates to the Hague Conference in December, 1922. The Hague Conference, it will be recalled, was summoned by the Amsterdam International (the International Federation of Trade Unions), the Second (Labor and Socialist) International, the Two-and-a-Half International, and the Communist International to explore the possibilities of international unity and common struggle against imperialist war.

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Therefore, the points to be placed in the foreground are: firstly, the discussion of the question of "defense of the home country," secondly, and in combination with this, the discussion of the question of "defeatism," and finally, the discussion of the sole possible means of combating war, *i.e.*, the maintenance, or formation of an illegal organization of all revolutionists taking part in the war, for the purpose of carrying on unceasing work against the war.

The boycott of war is a stupid phrase. Communists are forced to take part in every reactionary war.

It would be an excellent thing to take a number of examples (from German pre-war literature, or as a special instance, the Basle Congress in 1912) for the purpose of demonstrating in an effectively concrete manner that the theoretical recognition of the fact that war is a crime, that war is unallowable for socialists, etc., are all mere empty words, since these assertions have nothing concrete behind them. We give the masses no actual living idea of how a war can break out. On the contrary, the dominating press hushes this question up to such an extent, and spreads such a daily veil of lies over it, that the weak socialist press is completely powerless in comparison, the more in that it has always adopted a wrong viewpoint on the subject, even in peace times. Even the Communist press is at fault in this respect in most countries.

I believe that our delegates will have to divide the task amongst them at the international congress of the co-operatives and trade unionists, and will have to expose down to the smallest detail, all those sophisms being employed at the present time in justification of war.

Perhaps these sophisms form the chief medium for involving the masses in war, the chief weapons of the bourgeois press, and the most important circumstance in explanation of our powerlessness against war is the fact that we either fail to shatter these sophistries before it is too late, or we damage our own cause still further by cheap, boastful, and entirely empty phrases: "We shall not permit any war," "We realize the criminal nature of war," and so forth, in the spirit of the Basle manifesto of 1912.

I believe that if we have a few speakers at the Hague conference who are capable of delivering a speech in this or that language against war, their most important task will be to refute the idea that those present at the conference are opponents of war; that they have any idea as to how war can and must break out when they least expect it, or that they have found that they have the faintest notion of adopting any rational line of action calculated to be efficient in the war against war.

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In connection with the latest experiences of the war, we must show what a great number of theoretical and practical questions we have to face on the very day following the declaration of war; questions which will rob the overwhelming majority of those called to the colors of the possibility of taking up a position to them with clear heads and conscientious objectivity.

I believe that this question will have to be discussed with the utmost detail and along two lines:

In the first place, by the repetition and analysis of everything which immediately preceded the war, showing clearly to all present that they do not know, or pretend that they do not know, whilst in reality they do not want to admit it, the crux of the whole question, the essential point which has to be recognized before there is any thought of combating war. I am of the opinion that the full discussion of the point implies an analysis of all judgments, and all opinions held at that time with regard to the war by the Russian socialists. It is necessary to point out that these judgments were not formed accidentally but arose out of the nature of all modern wars. It must be pointed out that without an analysis of these views, and without an explanation of how they were inevitably bound to be formed, and of how they are of decisive significance for the question of combating war—without such analysis it is impossible to speak of any preparation for the event of war, or even of a conscious attitude towards war.

In the second place, every present-day conflict, even the most trifling, must be adduced as an example, of how a war may break out any day with no further cause than a quarrel between England and France, with regard to some detail of their agreement with Turkey, or between America and Japan, over some unimportant difference referring to a question of the Pacific Ocean, or between any of the other great powers with regard to disagreements about colonies, tariffs, or general commercial politics.

I am of the opinion that, should there be the slightest doubt about our being able to say all we have to say against war, at the Hague conference, we must find out the ways and means of enabling us to say, at least, the most important things, and what we have not been permitted to say we must issue in the form of a pamphlet. We must not shrink from incurring the possibility that the chairman will break off the conference.

I believe that we would further promote our object by including in the delegation, not only those speakers capable of delivering complete speeches, and commissioned to do this, that is, develop the *main* lines of argument and to state the necessary conditions for the com-

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bating of war. Our delegation should also include persons with a knowledge of all three leading foreign languages, who would then enter into conversation with the delegates, and would be able to judge in how far the main arguments are comprehensible, and to what extent the necessity exists of adducing this or that argument or example.

It may be that in some questions the sole effective means will be to adduce actual examples from the late war. In other questions the greatest impression may perhaps be made by the discussion of the present conflicts between the various States, and the attendant possibility of recourse to arms. With reference to the war against war, it occurs to me that declarations have been made with regard to this subject by our Communist delegates, in their speeches both inside and outside of Parliament, which have contained entirely wrong and frivolous assertions about war against war. I believe that such declarations, especially those made since the war, should be decidedly and relentlessly opposed, and the names of the speakers stated. This may be done with the utmost consideration when necessary, but not a single case of this kind should be passed over in silence, for the adoption of a frivolous attitude towards this question is such a tremendous evil that it outweighs every other consideration, and it is absolutely impossible to exercise any indulgence.

All and every material must be collected without delay. And every separate partial question, every subdivision of a partial question, and the whole "strategy," must be discussed in detail at the congress.

In such a question not only an error on our part cannot be tolerated, but even a lack of completeness on any essential.

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For a Complete Mobilization of the Party for Real Mass Work in the Election Campaign

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF C. A. HATHAWAY ON THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN DELIVERED AT THE 14TH PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

(To be used as a guide in the preparations for the National Nominating Convention to be held in Chicago on May 28th and 29th).

NOW, comrades, among the tasks of the Party at the present time, *what is the position of the election campaign?*

There has been a habit in the Party for every comrade to place each particular campaign as the "central task," or as the "main task" before the Party, with the result that in the districts, in the sections and in the units the comrades never know what our "central task" is, or what relationship one task has to another. This practise followed in the Party has led to a jumping from one campaign or activity to another, one thing is started today and next week it is another. As a result of this method of work the Party is not able to *root itself firmly among the workers in the factories, among the unemployed, etc.*

The election campaign is not the "central task" in this generally accepted sense. The central mass task of the Party is the task of seriously preparing and organizing the *immediate struggles* of the workers against the bourgeois offensive with the particular objective of drawing the workers quickly into the broadest mass struggles against the danger of war and for the defense of the Soviet Union.

Through these activities,—through the organization of workers' struggles in the factories, through the organization of the struggles of the unemployed, through the organization of the struggle for Negro rights, through our activities among the farmers, through carrying on the struggle against the war danger,—*the Party must rally its forces for the election campaign.*

The election campaign, therefore, is to be conceived of by the Party *not as a substitute* for the other activity, but as a ***unifying campaign,*** as a campaign which grows, which gathers force to the

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extent that we carry on the other activities. If the election campaign were carried on in any other way, we would not be successful in rallying the masses of workers and poor farmers.

SECTARIAN TENDENCIES MUST BE OVERCOME

The election campaign therefore can only be successful to the extent that the Party is successful in overcoming the sectarian tendencies now prevailing in the Party. At the same time the election campaign can become a very powerful instrument for mobilizing the Party for overcoming these sectarian tendencies and for driving our roots deep among the decisive sections of the workers.

To do this we must realize very clearly in what our sectarian tendencies consist. In the past we have frequently made statements about our isolation from the masses and about the necessity for a "decisive turn". But this decisive turn to mass work has not been made. We have pointed in the past to every successful action as "the beginning of the turn."

This is wrong. This shows that comrades do not yet fully know what is meant by a "turn." In drawing up the resolution before the Plenum, the Political Bureau knew very well what the Party had done. The Political Bureau was not working in the dark. We knew, for example, that we had carried through the strike of 40,000 coal miners in Pennsylvania. We knew that the Hunger March had been organized and successfully carried through by the Party. We knew of the Scottsboro campaign.

All of these activities were indications of energetic work by the Party. They were indications of a determined attempt to organize and lead the struggles of the workers. But these activities did not yet constitute the *essential change* that is necessary in the work of the Party. The resolution presented by the Political Bureau states very clearly that *"the radical turn toward revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the proletariat which has been frequently demanded by the E. C. C. I., has up until now essentially not been carried through in practise."*

In still another place the resolution says *"the work of the Party fundamentally remains in the same groove."* These formulations, which I have stressed, were not in any sense accidental. In each case they were made only after thorough discussion of the Party's mass work.

We must bear in mind that we are now in the third year of the most catastrophic crisis and still we have not been able to greatly strengthen the ranks of the Party; we have not built mass trade unions or unemployed councils; we have not built a mass Negro

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movement. Every one should be seriously alarmed by this situation and take seriously the work of this Plenum.

Now the resolution does not merely speak of a "turn." The resolution quite clearly states what is required:

> "This task is to *overcome the isolation* of the Party from *the decisive* masses of the American proletariat, to come before the masses as their vanguard in the struggle against the offensive of the bourgeoisie and against the imperialist war, *and to firmly root itself in the decisive industries by means of solid personal contact with the workers.*" (Italics mine—C.A.H.)

This leaves no doubt as to what is meant. In still another section we state even more fully what we expect the Party to do following the Plenum. We state:—

> "In order that the Party be in a position to carry out these main tasks, it must give the most careful attention in all its work to the application of *a correct mass policy.* This correct mass policy consists in developing the mass struggle of the workers, the working women and the young workers, on the basis of *their immediate economic and political needs, as they arise from their life and work,* and conflicts with the employers, reformist bureaucrats, the state, etc. This means, furthermore, that these struggles must be carried through on *the basis of the activities of the masses,* and that *the tasks of the Communists are precisely to develop and organize this activity and initiative of the masses.* This calls for the most concrete application of the united front from below is accordance with the varying degree of influence of the Communists, the extent of the radicalization of the workers, the influence of the social-fascists, etc., thus applying the line of independent policy not mechanically, *but on the basis of a careful analysis of the concrete conditions of work and of struggle.* This calls also for greater activity in maneuvering against the social fascists and employers.
>
> "Inseparably linked up with and as a basic prerequisite of our entire mass work, is persistent struggle against the fascist and social-fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. and against the Socialist Party, especially their left social-fascists (Musteites)." (Italics mine C.A.H.)

We have to cease to be a Party *for* the workers and become a Party *of* the workers. Too frequently we appear not as fighters in the interest of the workers, but as people who are interested in a strike or demonstration only because *we* can make political capital out of it *for ourselves.* In the future we have to convince the workers that our only concern is *their* interests, *their* demands, and *their* struggle. This is the essential change that has to be carried out in our approach to mass work.

This drive to radically transform the whole character of our mass work is to be the preparation for our election campaign. The elec-

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tion campaign must be carried through on the basis of the new methods of work. The mobilization of the Party for the election campaign must be a powerful instrument for overcoming the factors that prevent us from winning the confidence of the workers.

POPULARIZE DEMANDS AND PLATFORM

To be successful in the election campaign there must be a real popularization, to begin with, of the Party's demands and the Party's platform, coupled with the most vigorous, thorough and convincing exposure of the enemies of the workers.

The Party has already prepared a draft platform. I can frankly state that this draft platform is not yet satisfactory. This platform has to be thoroughly worked over before publication. It must be made into a real mass document capable of convincing the workers that, by supporting the Communist Party, *they really benefit themselves*. This must be the aim of the platform.

Following the Plenum, we propose to publish this platform in the *Daily Worker* for discussion, inviting the workers to express their opinions. Only after such a discussion, which must continue up to the National Nominating Convention in Chicago, will we finally adopt the platform.

We propose furthermore that the local conferences, which are to precede the Chicago Convention, also discuss the platform so that we have the widest participation of the workers. If this is done, this in itself will be a big step in convincing the workers that we are not coming to them as an outside force, but that they are really participating with us. This will be the beginning. But following that, and throughout the campaign, and particularly now in the preparations for the local and national conferences, there must be *a real popularization* of the platform and the demands of the Party.

ONLY SIX MAIN DEMANDS

The demands, as the comrades have seen, are only six in number. This is a very big change, as compared with our last presidential election. At that time the demands numbered about 130.

These demands were not hastily formulated. Every formulation was considered in the most careful manner. The comrades of the Districts, therefore before they begin to change the demands, should bear this in mind. The comrades working on Party papers should do likewise. We have the experience again and again of editors getting tired of old formulations, and they reformulate demands in their own way. We don't want such changes. These demands represent the *central demands* of the Party and must be used in this way—and together,—throughout the entire election campaign.

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The main slogans which the Party must put forward are:

(1) *Unemployment and social insurance at the expense of the state and employers.*

(2) Against Hoover's wage-cutting policy.

(3) Emergency relief, without restrictions by the government and banks, for the poor farmers; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of debts.

(4) Equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt.

(5) Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers.

(6) Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union.

The comrades will please note that while there are six demands, only one demand is printed in italics. This was not accidental. It was placed that way because we want to emphasize that this demand is the *main demand* to be used in the elections. This was done with a full knowledge of the situation. We knew we were confronted with the immediate danger of war; we knew wage cuts were taking place, but in spite of all this, this one demand, *unemployment and social insurance,* was placed as the main demand in the election campaign. Unemployment is the *Achilles heel* of American capitalism; this is its most vulnerable spot. The fight for unemployment and social insurance can be the basis for the greatest mass struggle. It can lead to the most complete unity of employed and unemployed workers. It can be the means of greatly widening the mass basis for the struggle against war. Unemployment insurance cannot merely be put forward as "one of the demands," therefore, but we must particularly popularize and explain this demand.

The main emphasis is to be put on *unemployment* insurance, but it is also necessary to widely explain and agitate for old age insurance, maternity insurance, federal sick and accident insurance, etc., as a means of winning the women, and all other categories of workers.

Unemployment insurance can become a means also for fighting and exposing all other parties. We must concretely prove the burning need for unemployment insurance in the United States, and then that our Party alone fights for *real* unemployment insurance.

The other demands, however, are to be used together with this *main* demand for unemployment and social insurance. Collectively they must serve as the instruments for uniting the toilers, men and women, Negro and white, young and old, farm laborers and poor farmers into one solid fighting front against the bourgeois offensive.

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The second demand, *"Against Hoover's wage cutting policy,"* while being made the basis for our general struggle against *all wage cuts*, showing always the direct responsibility of Hoover, Green Woll, etc., as the initiators of these wage cuts, must become also an instrument for reaching the tens of thousands of municipal and other employees (teachers, janitors, clerks, etc.) who are everywhere being forced to accept heavy wage slashes.

The third demand, *"Emergency relief, without restrictions by the government and banks, for the poor farmers; exemption of poor farmers from taxes, and no forced collection of debts,"* must be widely popularized among the farmers. It must be used in all Districts during the election campaign, particularly now with war rapidly approaching, as a means of strengthening our contacts with the farmers and drawing them under the influence of the proletarian revolutionary movement. The phrase, *"without restrictions by the government and banks"* particularly gives our comrades the key for exposing the so-called "farmers' relief measures" advocated by old party politicians and the socialists.

The fourth demand, *"Equal rights for the Negroes, and self-determination for the Black Belt,"* has to be particularly stressed here for two reasons. First, because of its powerful mass appeal among the Negroes of both the North and South, it can become an extremely powerful instrument for winning the support of the Negro masses for our candidates and platform, and for drawing the Negroes into the great mass struggle against the attacks of the capitalists and against imperialist war. Secondly, this slogan must be stressed because of the confusion which still exists in the Party with regard to it. Therefore, following the Plenum and throughout the election campaign many articles have to be devoted to an explanation of this slogan, together with mass leaflets and pamphlets. Our speakers must be taught to so clearly and convincingly put forward this slogan and our position on the Negro question, that the Negro masses will be able to easily distinguish between our position and that of the Garveyites and the other reformist misleaders of the N. A. A. C. P.

The fifth slogan, *"Against capitalist terror; against all forms of suppression of the political rights of the workers,"* requires little explanation, except to emphasize the necessity of including, while popularizing this slogan, deportations, lynchings, political disfranchisement of the Negroes, etc., thus also making this slogan an effective instrument for winning Negroes, foreign born workers, etc.

The last slogan, *"Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Chinese people and of the Soviet Union,"* is particularly *immediate.*

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The war is on in the Far East. Japanese troops are at the borders of the Soviet Union. The other imperialist powers, including the United States, are rapidly arming and concentrating their forces in strategic positions. All our forces must *now* be thrown into the struggle in an effort to prevent war on the Soviet Union and to force the withdrawal of all military forces from China. This slogan therefore has the greatest importance. The first five slogans, however, are necessary as a means of reaching all categories of workers, without them the maximum mobilization against imperialist war cannot be made.

STRONGER LOCAL POLITICS AND STRUGGLE

In addition to these six demands, which are the *main national demands* of the Party, it is necessary also in each locality, in each county, in each state, to develop in the same serious and thorough manner *local demands and local platforms*. Please, comrades—not just a reiteration or a re-wording of the demands and platform of the Central Committee, but a *real local platform* in which you take up local issues, local parties, local demands—platforms that will really place our Party in the very center of the local struggle; that will serve effectively as the weapon with which to expose local politicians and their platforms.

In this campaign, we have to develop a much wider agitational and propaganda work than heretofore. Above all, though, *we have to improve the character of our agitation and propaganda work.* The speeches very frequently made by comrades in the Party now are nothing short of a disgrace. I have listened to some of our comrades speak in Union Square. I heard tirades against the Socialist Party that would never win a worker for our Party. This can and must be changed by the leading comrades in the Districts. The question of agitation in the election campaign, the training of comrades, preparing simple outlines, preparing material on how to expose our enemies, particularly the Socialists, must be seriously taken up and a decisive change made.

The Central Committee will take the lead through articles in the *Daily Worker* through the preparation of national leaflets and pamphlets, but this cannot be a substitute for local leaflets, exposing the local demagogues, etc.

We must have a much more *militant struggle and exposure* of the local politicians than up to now, particularly such demagogues as the priest, Father Cox.

We do not want, however, merely agitation. This would not be effective. We have to bear in mind that these election demands—

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the six demands are not merely election demands. These demands are the central demands of the Party *in this entire period.*

Every one of these demands can and must be linked up with the immediate every day struggles of workers, which our Party must endeavor to lead through the development of a correct mass policy as demanded by the Central Committee. It is these struggles, and the development of these struggles *every day*, that will give us the mass basis for the election campaign.

AVOID OPPORTUNIST ERRORS

We must be very careful, however, to develop our election campaign so as to avoid opportunist dangers of either the right or "left" variety. There is a tendency in the Party now to merely make leaflets, pamphlets, etc., a substitute for real serious mass work based on individual contact with the workers. There is a tendency to make "left" phrase-mongering, name-calling, etc. a substitute for a careful analysis and exposure of the position of our enemies. This will not win the confidence of the workers nor their support.

After describing concretely the conditions of the workers in the United States today, it is necessary for us to show them the *necessity* for militant struggle by the workers against the employers, as the *only way* by which they maintain and improve their living standard. The Party and the Party candidates, on the basis of *our record*, must be put forward as the only Party which has led and can continue to lead these struggles of the workers *in their interest.*

This mass resistance of the workers—through strikes, demonstrations, etc.—and the development of the counter-offensive against the attacks of the employers, must be the *keynote*, the center, of the Party campaign. To the extent that we can really convince the workers that, through their struggle, and through their struggle *alone*, they can carry on a successful *fight* against the offensive of the capitalists to that extent can we win their confidence and support.

Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize during the course of the election campaign *that the workers can win these demands.*

It is not sufficient to hold out to the workers that some time in the future they can win their demands, after capitalism is overthrown. We must convince the toilers that unemployment insurance can be won now, that wage-cuts can be stopped, that relief for the farmers can be gotten, by organizing now, by carrying on a real mass struggle against the offensive of the capitalists. With the immediate prospect of victory, not through a parliamentary victory, but through mass struggle, we must mobilize the workers to support our candidates as the best leaders of the workers' struggle. We must do this essentially around the above six demands.

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OUR AIM TO REVOLUTIONIZE WORKERS

However, it is necessary to guard against another danger in the Party. We cannot merely put forward our struggle for immediate demands; we must bear in mind that it is the aim of our Party, as a Communist Party, to *revolutionize* the masses of workers. We must bring them to realize the necessity not only of the fight against capitalism today, but also of overthrowing capitalism and of establishing a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

This revolutionary aim of the Party must be brought out in connection with all phases of the campaign, but it cannot be done merely by counterposing capitalism to revolution; it must be done by bringing out clearly the need for developing a mass counter-offensive now, the possibility of the workers winning their demands through a mass fight for these demands—all as the first step toward a revolutionary way out of the crisis, as the beginning of the revolutionary struggle which has as the objective the overthrow of capitalism in the United States and the establishment of a Workers' and Farmers' Government.

In putting forward the revolutionary way out of the crisis, also we cannot talk in generalities, all phrase mongering must be avoided. We must concretely picture to the workers what the revolution means to them. We must make the workers realize that through proletarian revolution there is something real to be won by the workers.

We have a tendency to talk very freely about revolution, about the overthrow of capitalism. The comrades do not tell the workers how it can be prepared, how it can be carried through, or what the workers will get out of it. Please, comrades, overcome all such tendencies. This time let us put forward the revolutionary way out of the crisis, the proletarian revolution, and the Workers' and Farmers' Government, in a way the workers can grasp and understand.

This can be done by showing the masses concretely that the proletarian revolution alone can free the masses from the misery and slavery they are now subjected to under capitalism. The proletarian revolution, by the workers confiscating the banks, the railroads, the factories, the warehouses, etc., can immediately give jobs to the workers, producing the food and clothing they need, give the workers homes through turning all the now empty houses over to them, etc. The Negro workers must be convinced that through the proletarian revolution, inequality can be overcome; that full equality can be won throughout the country, and in the South, the right of self-determination. We must show the workers that only through

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such a proletarian revolution can we guarantee peace, and escape forever from brutal and bloody imperialist war.

Finally, comrades, we have to bring forward the achievements of the Soviet Union as a great example of what the workers can accomplish. There the workers have taken power, there there is no unemployment, there they are proceeding one step after another to lay the foundations for Socialism, to build a workers' society. This must be brought out very clearly and fully.

In connection with this popularization of the gigantic achievements of Socialist construction in the Soviet Union, while dealing with the great difficulties which the Russian workers had to overcome, we must establish before the workers that here in the United States we have the industrial development, we have the technique, that *all we need here are the Soviets.*

We must mobilize the workers in gigantic mass struggle today around the above immediate demands leading them forward toward the setting up of the Soviet Power in the United States which alone will make it possible for them to realize all their demands. This is our task in the election campaign.

EXPOSE THE WORKERS' ENEMIES

But this, comrades, can only be done if the Party takes up a really systematic and thorough exposure of the enemies of the Party. As Comrade Weinstone already pointed out, the tendency of the Party has been to carry on its work in the past in a political vacuum. We assume that here are the masses, and here are we, and there are no other forces at work. But comrades, the enemies of the Party—the openly bourgeois parties and also the reformist parties—are still very strong. They still exercise a very great influence among the workers. *We will succeed in the election campaign only to the extent that we are successful in literally tearing the workers away from the bourgeois parties.* The workers will come to us to the extent that we go to them and literally drag them out of the bourgeois parties and into the struggles which we lead. This means in the first place *a real penetration of the masses in the basic industries.* It means *meeting*—fearlessly meeting—and *defeating* the enemies of the workers.

In the past we have stayed away from all meetings organized by the other parties. We have ignored their activities. This has prevented us from winning the workers. This has to be changed. We have to send our comrades into the meetings organized by the Socialists, Republicans and Democrats. Our comrades, by questions, by demanding the floor to speak, by distributing our leaflets and

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literature, must enter into a struggle with these demagogues for leadership over he masses. This must be the policy in the campaign.

You will note that the section of the resolution dealing with the election campaign, states that every statement, that every proposal of the opposing candidates, have to be answered by the Party. An election campaign is not something static. Every speech made during the election campaign, every demand put forth, every meeting held, adds something to the campaign. A campaign is accumulative. Therefore, we not only must have our platform and demands. We must seize every opportunity that develops in the campaign to expose most clearly the enemy candidates. We can do this by taking their statements, their speeches, etc., and by answering them in the *Daily Worker*, in our speeches and in our leaflets, in each case concretely proving to the masses that the proposals made by these candidates are wrong and detrimental to the interests of the toiling masses.

The workers will not believe you if you merely condemn some other candidate as a faker or as an enemy of the workers. There must be a *very concrete exposure*. There must be *proof!* Another thing. You cannot expose anyone if you do not know what effect his statements have on the workers. You cannot merely listen to a speech and effectively expose the speaker. You must know the reaction of the workers to such speakers if you are to effectively reply. The lesson is—if you wish to fight other Parties, know the attitude of the workers toward these parties, toward their candidates, and toward the issues they raise. In other words, secure and maintain *real personal contact* with the non-Party workers.

STUDY AND ANSWER BOURGEOIS DEMAGOGY

This election campaign is going to bring a bigger flood of demagogy than we have ever seen in America before. For example, we have a new "Jesus Communist Party." We have the Christian magazines talking about the "Christian way out of the crisis," and so forth. The comrades from Chicago have already brought forth the methods used there by the Negro politicians—their use of declarations that candidates are "supported by the Communists," on the South Side.

This kind of demagogy will have to be given attention by the Party and subjected to systematic exposure. But demagogy about a "Jesus Communist Party," and so forth, is not the most serious. This is much easier to answer than some of the other stuff. For example, I am indebted to Comrade Platt for some very good examples from Philadelphia and the Anthracite.

Here, for example, is a Republican who comes forward with a number of demagogic demands, in fact, his whole platform. First

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comes, "prohibition." Second, "home rule." Then listen to the rest—"immediate relief for the unemployed," "soldier's bonus," "widow's pension," "old age pensions," "unemployment insurance," "perpetual peace and efforts to attain it." He also has about six demands! He also has the advantage of being a Republican. The workers know that Republicans are repeatedly elected. Workers might say,—"Here is a fellow who has a chance to win and he offers us everything that the Communists offer."

Here is another one from the Anthracite. A fellow attempts to capitalize the "fine congressional record" of his father. He is "one hundred per cent for labor and its legislative program." He promises "relief for the unemployed." Finally, in bold type, he puts forth the slogan: "Nominate the man you can elect!"

It is this kind of demagogy that we will run into in every District. These people, though they are Republicans or Democrats, cannot be answered merely with the declaration that they are "fakers." They are, of course, but we have to *prove* it. Only when we convincingly prove our charges, can we break the workers away from these unscrupulous demagogues.

How can we expose them? That is the question. This requires an examination of the records of these parties, an examination of the records of each candidate. We have to find out what bills these people have supported, what they have advocated, what their past has been in relation to the workers' struggles. All this must be brought to the attention of the workers not only showing that this or that candidate has done this or that but *showing concretely how these acts were harmful to the workers' interests.* Secondly, it is very easy to prove that the Republican Party is against unemployment insurance, for example. We have to put these fellows up against the wall and force them to explain how they can pretend to support unemployment insurance and at the same time support Hoover who consistently fights, not only insurance, but even emergency relief. Put them in a position where they cannot get by with phrase-mongering. We have to organize demonstrations in their districts for unemployed insurance, for old age pensions, etc., and put them in a position where they have to commit themselves, not with phrases, but by real struggles for the demands they pretend to support. In every possible way we must follow up every advantage we gain to expose them before the workers—to convince the workers that these promises are only fakery, designed now to catch the vote of the workers before the elections. But we have to bear in mind again that *one speech will not win the workers away from them and for us. The only way is by patient, tireless work among the workers.*

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With regard to the old parties, Republican and Democratic, we know that essentially they have the same policy. It is easy to prove this on the basis of an examination of their records. But it is insufficient for us to say that the Republicans and Democrats are the same, that they are "Gold Dust Twins," etc. In the course of the campaign, many democrats are going to carry on just as sharp a campaign against Hoover as we will. These people will appear before the workers as fighters against Hoover. It is our task to prove by examining their "*differences*," that they are the same. We must take up their proposals, their program, their records, and *prove conclusively* to the workers that the Republicans and Democrats have the same program.

SOCIALISTS ARE WORKERS' CHIEF ENEMY

While we fight energetically against the Republicans and Democrats, our main task is to win those workers who are being broken away from these two parties—to win the workers who are disillusioned with the two-party system. The Socialists and the Musteites are also going to stubbornly fight to win the workers who are breaking with the two-party system for their third party of capitalism. *Our main fight, therefore, must be the fight against the Socialist Party, and Musteites,* for the support of these most conscious workers. The resolution presented correctly emphasizes the necessity of "increasing, sharpening and improving" our struggle against the reformists, and please note, comrades, the "*improving*." We do not want just more quantity, but especially more quality.

Exposing the Socialists is not so easy as exposing the Republicans and Democrats. The Socialists have not yet been in power on a wide scale—only in Milwaukee, and few other places. They are still posing as a real opposition to the two old parties. Now the Socialist Party is again talking about the "class struggle"; they are talking against capitalism, and very loudly for "Socialism." If one studies the recent issues of the *New Leader*, one finds that more and more they are giving attention to propaganda for "Socialism" and against capitalism. It is this we have to chiefly expose if we are going to win these most conscious workers breaking away from the old parties.

Of course, it is necessary for us to take up concretely the position of the Socialists *on every question.* We must show their position on the League of Nations and its role in the imperialist war policy, the role of the League in the East, etc. We have to take up the support given by Norman Thomas to Hoover's reconstruction corporation, the Socialist support for the "block aid system" here in New York, etc.

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In this connection we have to avoid the method used in the *Daily Worker* in its editorial on Thomas and the "block aid system." There we prove conclusively that Thomas supports the "block-aid system." But Norman Thomas admits it! *We have to prove that this system is detrimental to the interests of the workers.* To the extent only that we show the meaning of these proposals in relation to the daily lives of the workers, to this extent we can expose the role of these people in a convincing manner to the workers.

We see also the Socialist Party coming forward now as the "friend" of the Soviet Union. They have a big discussion going on in the Socialist Party and over this issue. They report that their last city conference was taken up exclusively with a discussion of the Soviet Union to the exclusion of everything else. The so-called "militants" there are making this an issue. One of their readers writes in that "only to the extent that Socialism advances in the Soviet Union can the Socialist Party make progress here." All such demagogy as this will be used in the election campaign.

Therefore, it is necessary for us to go after the Socialist Party in a thorough manner, examining and exposing their position on every question. This, as Comrade Don correctly stated, requires a combining of theory with practice. It is necessary to take up their theory of "gradualism," their theory of "nationalization," showing that with these theories they are actually preventing the mobilization of the masses for the proletarian revolution, that they are the last bulwark against the overthrow of capitalism. And we must do this not with general phrases, but by means of a systematic and thorough examination of every one of their positions, by writing article after article on them—not an article today and then assume that we have them licked—but regular systematic daily articles on every position they take up on any question and especially bringing forward such basic questions as the "gradual transformation to Socialism."

It is my proposal that at every meeting that is arranged, instead of our past policy of having six or seven speakers at each meeting, all of whom say the same thing, that we have only two speakers—one at least must be *a real propagandist* who can explain the position of the Party in relation to the enemies of the Party. This I think must be a policy carried into effect after this Plenum, and only to the extent that we carry this out, can we develop a political struggle against the enemies of the Party.

FOR A BROAD FRONT CAMPAIGN

How are we going to organize the campaign? We have to develop this politically and organizationally on the broadest united front basis from the beginning of the campaign until the last, from

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now until November 8th. We have to strive to draw into the campaign *new elements* that we never reached before.

We don't want just a formal setting up of a united front election committee for support of the Communist Party. What we want is a united front actually, that will in the first place bring our comrades *into the factories*, into the A. F. of L.—among the unemployed —*a united front that expresses itself first in each of our comrades forming a united front with the worker next to him.* With such contacts as the basis, we can build committees in the factory, in the A. F. of L. unions, among the unemployed—groups that are ready to support and fight for the demands of the Communist Party. Through starting at the bottom, through building up these little groups, we prepare the basis for united front conferences that will embody not only those organizations who are already with us, but a whole mass of new elements that we never had in our conferences before. In the preparations for the National Nominating Convention to be held May 28th and 29th in Chicago, this line will be insisted upon.

We can really convince the workers that they can win under our leadership, if we concretize our demands, explain our position, develop our struggles properly, always on the basis of the directives given by the Central Committee in the resolution on mass work which we have before us. If we take up the immediate every day mass struggles of the workers now in the factories, developing a real resistance against the offensive of the bourgeoisie, there is no doubt but what the Party will be able to mobilize greater support for this election campaign around these demands than we have ever been able to do before.

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The Growth of the Party in the Struggle Against Centrism and Sectarianism

PAGES FROM PARTY HISTORY

By ALEX BITTELMAN

THE tenth anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit* is an important event in the life of the entire revolutionary labor movement in United States. In the course of the ten years of its existence the *Morning Freiheit* has become one of the most important organs of the Communist Party.

The importance of the *Morning Freiheit* as a Communist mass organ becomes particularly great at the present time, at the time of imperialist war against China and of the immediate danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union. More than ever before, the revolutionary movement in the United States now is in need of the organizing and propaganda capacity of an organ like the *Morning Freiheit*. At this time when the Communist Party of the United States faces the task of transforming itself into a Communist mass Party within the shortest possible time, the *Morning Freiheit* has an especially important task to perform,—the task of helping the Party as one of its important organs to accomplish a fundamental change in our work that will transform us from "a Party for the workers" into a "Party of the workers" (Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CENTRISM AND "LEFT" SECTARIANISM

The *Morning Freiheit* has grown into a leading Communist organ among the Jewish workers in the United States in the course of the struggle against centrism and "left" sectarianism. From the very beginning in its history the Party had to wage a sharp and stubborn struggle against the various opportunist tendencies which blocked the road towards the creation of a Communist mass organ of the Jewish workers in the United States. It was a struggle on two fronts. First, against the centrist opportunism of Zivyon-Salutzky; secondly, against the "left" sectarian opportunism of the "United Toilers." At the same time it was a struggle against those

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Communist elements which manifested a tendency towards conciliation with centrism and "left" sectarianism.

This struggle, naturally, was an organic part of the general struggle against right and "left" opportunism which the Party waged at that time, though among the Jewish workers and in the *Morning Freiheit* this struggle had its specific features upon which we shall dwell later. The *Freiheit* came into being at a period in the history of our Party when a group of left Socialists, members of the Socialist Party of America, decided to join the Communist movement in the United States. This was the time of the "second split" in the Socialist Party—a split which brought to us a considerable number of revolutionary workers and other left socialist elements who in the course of time and in the process of our sharp struggles against opportunism have become assimilated in the Communist Party. At the same time, this "second split" brought to us a small group of centrist leaders who, against their own will, were forced to come in our direction by the pressure of the revolutionary workers in the Socialist Party of that time. These centrist leaders (Lore, Zivyon, Salutzky) came to us not in order to become Communists but, on the contrary, in order to maintain their dwindling influence among certain sections of the workers, in order to prevent the complete amalgamation of those workers with the Communist movement.

The *Freiheit* was born in the process of the entrance of these elements of the "second split" into our Party. As a natural consequence, the *Freiheit* reflected the struggle which the Party conducted at that time for the assimilation and the Communist transformation of the new elements. Moreover, in the *Freiheit* this struggle assumed at times particularly acute forms, due to the fact that some of the most prominent centrist leaders of the "second split", (Zivyon, Salutzky) exerted their main influence among the Jewish workers and thus also participated in the founding of the *Freiheit*.

The above opportunist tendencies from the very beginning of the existence of the *Freiheit* hindered the development of revolutionary mass work among the Jewish workers of the United States. In order to transform the *Freiheit* into an effective weapon for this revolutionary mass activity for the mobilization of the Jewish working masses as a part of the American working class in the struggle against American imperialism and its social facist agents —*The Forward*, the reactionary bureaucracy of the American Federation of Labor unions and the Workmen's Circle—it was necessary to wage a relentless struggle against the centrism of Zivyon and Salutzky, against the "left" sectarianism of the "United Toilers"

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and against all the tendencies of conciliation with opportunism. And, as mentioned above, in the course of this struggle the *Freiheit* rooted itself in the revolutionary labor movement in the United States. This struggle against opportunism must continue with the greatest stubbornness; only in this way will we be able to fight successfully for the liquidation of the mass influence of social fascism (*The Forward*) and of the petty bourgeois nationalist chauvinism (*The Day*), bearing in mind at the same time that within our own ranks sectarianism is at the present moment "the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party" and that in order to overcome this sectarianism it is necessary to wage "a consistent struggle against the *right opportunism* as the main danger as well as against the opportunism covered with Left phrases" (Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee).

WHAT SORT OF PAPER WAS THE "FREIHEIT" TO BE?

It may seem surprising to the present reader why such a question was to arise at all. It is now taken for granted by every class conscious Jewish worker in the United States that the *Freiheit* is and must be a Bolshevist mass organ. Yet, at the time when the *Freiheit* was founded this question was one of the points of dispute between the centrists and the Communists in our Party. The decisive importance of this question and the very acute struggle around it was due to the fact that in the question concerning the character of the *Freiheit* was concealed a more fundamental question: the question as to whether our Party was to follow the course of Lenin and Bolshevism or whether it was to recede in the direction of centrism and Kautsky. Zivyon and Salutzky wanted a centrist Freiheit—because they strove to drag our movement back to Kautsky. The Communists fought for a Bolshevist Freiheit because they wanted to lead the movement along the road of Lenin and Bolshevism. Therein consisted the profound significance of the acute struggle concerning the question of what kind of paper the *Freiheit* was to be. Under the leadership of the Communist International and our Party, with the support of the class conscious and revolutionary Jewish workers in the United States, the *Freiheit* succeeded in overcoming the centrists and in carrying on its revolutionary mass activity as an organ of the Communist Party of the United States. This was accomplished also because of the fact that the Communist Party succeeded in correcting among the Communist elements the tendency of conciliation with centrism as well as the tendency of conciliation with "left" sectarianism.

In their struggle against the bolshevisation of our movement and the development of the *Freiheit* as a mass organ of the Communist

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Party, the centrists (Zivyon, Salutzky) put forth the following slogan: the *Freiheit* must be an organ *for* the Communist International, but not *of* the Communist International. This was a smooth centrist phrase behind which was the idea of the centrists to hide themselves under a cloak of "sympathy" with the Communist International, because only in such a way could they at that time maintain their dwindling influence among the revolutionary Jewish workers. Under this cloak the centrists sought to build up a wall between the Jewish workers and the Communist Party of the United States. They sought to build a bridge which could lead only back to *The Forward* and to the social facist camp in general.

The centrists, as we know, did not succeed in transforming the *Freiheit* into a wall between the Jewish workers and the Communist Party. The centrists did not succeed in making of the *Freiheit* a bridge that would lead the Jewish workers back to *The Forward* and to social fascism. On the contrary, the *Freiheit* has been and is becoming more so every day a mighty weapon for the mobilization of the Jewish toiling masses under the leadership of the Communist Party; but the centrist leaders themselves—Zivyon, Salutzky, Lore, *et al.*, have found their way back to social fascism. The Communist movement in the United States has assimilated the proletarian revolutionary elements of the "second split" and has rid itself of the centrist leaders who are now back to the social fascist camp. Just because the centrist leaders did not want a Bolshevik *Freiheit* they conducted such a stubborn struggle to prevent the *Freiheit* from maintaining and continuing on a higher revolutionary plane the traditions of the first revolutionary left socialist and and Communist periodicals of the Jewish workers in the United States. The centrists sought in every way to minimize the achievements of *The Kampf*, *Funken*, *Proletarier* and *Emes*. This is quite natural: these publications grew and developed together with the Communist Party of the United States. They were an organic part of the Communist Party and for this very reason the centrists fought so bitterly to prevent the *Freiheit* from absorbing the traditions of the first Communist periooicals. But also on these points the centrists were defeated by the revolutionary Jewish workers in the United States. The *Freiheit* did not abandon the position of its Communist predecessors, but on the contrary, continued these traditions on a higher stage of revolutionary mass activity under the leadership of the Communist Party.

THE SPECIFIC TRAITS OF JEWISH CENTRISM

The political contents of the centrism of Lore, Zivyon and Salutzky in 1922 was the same as that of centrism generally of that time.

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The counter-revolutionist Kautsky was then the main representative of the centrist movement, and Kautsky's personal evolution from centrism to social facism was also the evolution of the centrist leaders in the United States.

The centrism of Zivyon, Salutzky, *et al.*, also had its own specific traits. These specific traits were derived from certain "Bundist" traditions which the Jewish centrism in the United States sought to keep alive among the Jewish workers. We will here point out only two main features: first, the tendencies towards "federationism", *i. e.*, a certain organizational separatism and aloofness from the general labor movement in the United States; secondly, the petty bourgeois nationalist interpretation of Jewish national problem in the various countries. All of these tendencies are rooted in the "Bundism" which the Zivyons and Salutzky's sought to cultivate among the Jewish workers in the United States.

The struggle against centrism was, therefore, also directed against the remnants of "Bundism," "federationism," and petty bourgeois nationalism, which the centrist leaders sought to maintain and spread among the Jewish workers. The Party had to conduct a long struggle against federationism, against the organizational isolation of the language sections of our movement, in order to establish the Bolshevist principle of Party organization. And while this struggle was in the main won by the Party, we must bear in mind that remnants of federationist tendencies are probably still in existence and it is therefore necessary to be definitely on guard against a possible recurrence of this anti-Bolshevist tendency. There can be no doubt that to the extent that one meets here and there with a tendency to regard the *Freiheit* as an independent domain—a tendency which often crops up quite unconsciously and may assume all kinds of concrete forms—to that extent we still have to deal with remnants of federationism, *i. e.*, with remnants of "Bundism". The same is true of petty bourgeois interpretations of Jewish national problems in various countries. Also here centrism sought to poison the Jewish workers in the United States with "Bundism." The Party and the *Freiheit* have conducted a successful struggle against it. This struggle must be continued and at the same time we must combat every tendency within our ranks to tolerate a conciliatory attitude towards the nationalist remnants of "Bundism". This, naturally, includes a struggle on the entire front, against Zionism and against all the manifestations of petty bourgeois nationalist chauvinism.

COMMUNIST MASS WORK IN THE UNIONS

From the very beginning of its existence the *Freiheit* became an effective force for Communist mass work in the unions, particularly

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in the needle trades where large masses of Jewish workers are employed, and also in other unions. The *Freiheit* played an unusually important role in the building of a left wing in the A. F. of L. and in the creation of revolutionary unions of the Trade Union Unity League. The same must be said about the role of the *Freiheit* in building a left wing group in the Workmen's Circle and the creation of the International Workers Order. Through the *Freiheit*, the Party was able to reach and mobilize large masses of Jewish workers in the shops and the various non-Party mass organizations for the revolutionary struggles against American capitalism and its social fascist supporters.

This, too, the *Freiheit* attained in the struggle against centrism and against "left sectarianism". Centrism (Salutzky) sought to "Hillmanize" the Communist mass work in the unions. The centrists made a show of "combatting" the dominance of *The Forward* agents in the unions. But this was a centrist "struggle". It was an attempt to substitute Hillman's policies in the unions for Schlesinger's policies, *i. e.*, to put a "progressively"-masked Gompersism in place of open Gompersism.

On the other hand, the *Freiheit* had to combat the attempts of "left" sectarianism (United Toilers) to remove the Party from the masses in the reformist unions. "Left" sectarians, even if they were active in the reformist unions, placed obstacles in the way of developing a united front policy from below, which is the only policy that makes for a successful struggle against the capitalists, against the social fascist leaders and for the revolutionary development of the masses.

In a similar way, the *Freiheit* was confronted with the task of overcoming centrist and "left" sectarian tendencies in the revolutionary work in other mass organizations, such as the Workmen's Circle. Also there the Party had to combat on one hand the tendency of establishing a united front with the social-facist leaders instead of with the membership; and on the other hand the tendency to turn the left wing into a narrow sect and to refuse in practice to accomplish the united front from below with the broad laboring masses.

The Party and the Jewish organ, the *Freiheit*, have successfully defeated the centrists whose leaders are now in the camp of social fascism. Salutzky continues his work as an open agent of Hillman and Hillmanism, using from time to time "left" gestures for the purpose of united social-fascist activity with Muste against the revolutionary labor movement in the United States. Zivyon is doing his counter-revolutionary work in *The Forward*. We have thus

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defeated the open centrism. At the same time we must be alert in combatting the various opportunist tendencies both right and "left", from which our movement suffers up to this day.

When the Party, under the leadership of the Communist International, finally liquidated the factional divisions which hampered the growth of the Party, it also thereby created the possibilities for a successful struggle against opportunist tendencies, of a rapid bolshevization of the Party and its transformation into a true mass Party of the American proletariat. The struggle against Trotskyism, which has become the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgoisie against the Soviet Union, the Cannon followers of the counter revolutionary Trotskyites, and the struggle against the Lovestone renegades cleansed the Party of these opportunist groupings and *helped to create the conditions for the growth and bolshevization of our movement.*

This does not mean, however, that we have made use of these opportunities for growth and bolshevization in the proper measure. The resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee say about this, that "the radical turn towards revolutionary mass work among the basic sections of the American proletariat, demanded by the E. C. C. I. in its resolutions and directives, has up to now essentially not been carried through practice". The resolution points out the causes of our failure to accomplish the necessary fundamental changes in our work. These are, first of all, sectarianism "which constitutes the chief obstacle in the revolutionary mass work of the Party." The resolution points out correctly that sectarian tendencies in the entire work of the Party as well as in the work our mass organizations are based upon a deep rooted formalism.

In other words, we must combat in the most decisive way, both in theory and in practice, these sectarian tendencies which are opportunist tendencies, and in order to defeat these tendencies we must conduct a consistent struggle against right opportunism as the main danger as well as against opportunism which is covered up with "left" phrases. The *Freiheit* as one of the effective organs of the Party is destined to play an important part in a struggle for the bolshevization of our Party in accordance with the resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

FOR IDEODOGICAL CONSISTENCY IN THE CULTURAL FIELD

We have not always been successful in carrying out a consistent Bolshevist line in the cultural field. This is a field of class struggle to which we have not paid sufficient attention and as a consequence we failed to familiarize ourselves with the Leninist principles and methods of struggle in this realm. For this reason we had in the

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Freiheit, in former years, a considerable degree of confusion and at times opportunist deviations from the Bolshevist line.

A clear Party line in the cultural as well as in other realms of the class struggle is a fundamental Leninist principle. This principle the *Freiheit* is beginning to apply with ever increasing concreteness and effectiveness, as evidenced by the great cultural accomplishments which the Party and the *Freiheit* brought about among the Jewish workers in the United States. It is not an exaggeration to say that all truly creative cultural forces among the Jewish laboring masses in the United States are developing under the leadership of the *Freiheit*.

But, as stated above, we still have to resist a number of serious opportunist dangers in this respect. Stalin's letter in the *Proletarian Revolution*, against the contraband of counter revolutionary Trotskyism, again placed sharply before the Communist Parties of the entire world the question of ideological consistency and Bolshevist correctness of principle in theoretical, historical and cultural questions. Particularly in the realm of the cultural struggle, where deviations can easily preen themselves in "revolutionary" feathers, is Bolshevist alertness necessary. The struggle conducted by the Bolshevist Party of the Soviet Union for the Leninist ideology in the realm of culture can and must serve as a guide for our struggles here in the United States. The impression is gained that the *Freiheit* has not learned sufficiently from the experiences of the Bolshevist Party in the Soviet Union and has not made use of these experiences in the cultural field in the United States. This is a weakness that must be corrected.

Only in the continuous struggle against the right and "left" deviations in the cultural field will the *Freiheit* be able to continue its successful struggle for Leninist ideology and for the hegemony of the proletariat in the realm of culture.

ACHIEVEMENTS AND TASKS AT THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE "MORNING FREIHEIT"

The Communist Party of the United States and the class conscious workers in general have celebrated the 10th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit* in the proud realization that the *Morning Freiheit* has already established itself firmly among the Jewish workers in the United States as a Communist mass organ. The celebration of the 10th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit* in which tens of thousands of Jewish workers throughout the country took part have found an enthusiastic and active response in the entire revolutionary labor movement throughout the United States. The

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revolutionary labor movement appraises the anniversary celebration of the *Morning Freiheit* as an event that marks 10 years of successful revolutionary struggle for the mobilization of the Jewish workers as a section of the American proletariat for the struggle against American capitalism, for winning the majority of the American working class on the side of proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of the Communist Party. It has been a celebration of the successful Bolshevist struggle against social fascism and its main fortress among the Jewish workers—*The Forward*. It has been a celebration of the successful Bolshevist struggle against petty bourgeois nationalistic chauvinism (*The Day*) and against all other bourgeois influences which block the way of the revolutionary mobilization of the working class in its struggle for emancipation. It has been the celebration of an important historical milestone on the road to creating a Bolshevist mass organ among the Jewish workers in the United States.

The celebration of the 10th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit* approximately coincided with the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, where the Party leadership took up the question of further mobilization of the working masses for the struggle against imperialist war, for the defense of the Soviet Union, against the immediate danger of an imperialist attack and against the imperialist offensive on the entire front. The *Morning Freiheit* enters the 11th year of its existence in the midst of a concentrated struggle for the accomplishment of these tasks which face the American working class and its leader, the Communist Party.

The *Morning Freiheit* is destined to play an important part in the mobilization of the toiling masses against the imperialist war in China and for the defense of the Soviet Union. Here we must emphasize the important historical circumstance that the left wing of the American Socialist Party, which gave rise to the Communist Party in the United States, came into being, in the struggle against the traitors of the Second International who went over to the side of the imperialists in the imperialist war of 1914-1918. Our nearest roots spring from that left wing—the founder of our Party which strove to follow the leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the struggle against imperialist war and for the transformation of the world war into a proletarian revolution against imperialism. We will recall that the *Freiheit*, as the organ of the Communist Party in the United States, derives its roots from this left wing, from the first Communist organ in Yiddish, *The Kampf*, and from the subsequent Communist periodicals *Funken*, *Proletarier* and *Emes*, and that the struggle which the Communist predecessors waged against imperialist

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war and for Leninism laid the foundation for a broader and deeper struggle which the *Morning Freiheit* can and will wage at the present moment. On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the *Morning Freiheit,* a due estimation must be made of the Communist pioneer work among the Jewish workers in the United States which was carried on by the former downtown branch of the Jewish Socialist Federation—the branch under the leadership of the brave proletarian and revolutionist—the late Comrade Hiltzick. Precisely at this moment when the struggle against the imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union, the Socialist fatherland of the world proletariat, is the central task of the American working class and of its Communist Party, it is necessary to remember and to remind the workers of America that the Communist Party of the United States was born in the struggle against imperialist war of 1914-1918, in the struggle against the social-chauvinist (the present social-fascists) who sought in 1918 to revise and even abolish the mild and semi-pacifist resolution of the St. Louis convention of the Socialist Party in favor of an open fascist position for supporting the entry of the United States in the world war. Precisely now, at the moment of a sharpening war situation, precisely at this time of immediate danger of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union it is necessary to point out to the Jewish workers that at the cradle of the *Freiheit* stood proletarian revolutionists, Communists who waged a determined struggle against imperialist war, the social revolution in Russia and for the Soviet Union. In this way the foundation was laid for the later birth of the *Freiheit* and for its successful revolutionary activity in the course of the past ten years.

On to the struggle for the defense of the Chinese peoples and for the defense of the Soviet Union!

On to the struggle for the Bolshevisation of our Party and its Jewish mass organ, the *Morning Freiheit!*

On to the struggle for loyalty to the principles of Lenin, against all right and "left" opportunist deviations from the Leninist line of the Communist International!

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The Canadian Party and Its Struggle Against Illegality

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF THE FRATERNAL DELEGATE OF THE CANADIAN COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

COMRADES, I want to bring the warmest revolutionary greetings from the Communist Party of Canada and from our red leaders who are at present imprisoned at Portsmouth penitentiary.

Our Party at the present time, comrades, is going through the severest test in its history.

The Canadian bourgeoisie is engulfed in a very deep crisis, is embroiled in the field of international diplomacy, in the inter-imperialist antagonisms, is closely aligned with the forces of the first world powers who are leading the preparations for war against the Soviet Union, and is confronted in Canada with a sharpening struggle of the working class against the very severe offensive of the employers against the standard of living of the workers.

During the past year and a half the class struggle in Canada has tremendously sharpened. And in that sharpening struggle the role of our Party has become a very significant role—a much more significant role than our Party ever played before in the history of the Canadian working class movement. For that reason, because of the role which our Party played in the development of the unemployed struggle and in the development of the strike struggles, the resistance of the workers to the capitalist offensive, the Canadian bourgeoisie launched an attack against our Party, and owing to the unpreparedness of our Party succeeded in imprisoning eight of the leading members of the Political Bureau of the Party and holds in prison at the present moment some of our decisive district cadres.

THE FIGHT AGAINST LEGALISM

I want to deal particularly with the question of the fight against legalism in the Party, the lessons of the suppression of the Canadian Party, and the question of the importance of the preparations for illegality at the present time. It would be a great mistake for us to develop any formal theories with regard to the tactics of the bourgeoisie in the fight against our Communist Parties. We saw in

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our Party several very formal and mechanical attempts to explain the suppression of our Party. For example, some comrades tried to explain the suppression of our Party by saying that this is a pure quirk of the Canadian bourgeoisie, that this suppression of our Party is altogether not in keeping with the significance of the role of our Party in the class struggle and bears no direct relations to the struggles which our Party has led against the Canadian bourgeoisie.

This was an absolutely false and incorrect theory. The Canadian bourgeoisie took up the suppression of our Party, the beheading of our Party, the driving of the Party into illegality, as one of the most important measures in its whole offensive against the Canadian working class. It would be a great mistake to try to make a formulation that the Party has to have a certain degree of mass influence or has to have a certain degree of large mass proportions before the bourgeoisie will attempt to suppress it. The bourgeoisie of western democratic countries has a world of historical experience behind it in the struggle against our Parties. The bourgeoisie of the western democracies of which Canada is very typical have not failed to learn from the experience of the class struggle in Europe. The bourgeoisie, as we see in Canada, and in this respect I believe that the policy of the Canadian bourgeoisie serves as an international lesson for Parties in the western democracies, suppresses or attempts to suppress the Communist Party whenever it serves the purposes and ends of the immediate practical policy of the bourgeoisie in carrying through their offensive against the workers, and preparing for war.

We saw this in Canada. The suppression of our Party, the imprisonment of the leaders of our Party, was followed immediately by a tremendous intensification of the attack upon the working class, by a tremendous wage cutting offensive in such rapid fire succession as we have seen nowhere outside of England, to my knowledge—sweeping wage cuts for all government employees, and railroad employees, for miners, for whole sections of the Canadian working class, following in rapid fire succession upon the suppression of our Party. At this time a great intensification of the terror against the working class is taking place and, together with that, more clearly and sharply defined fascization tendencies in the state apparatus of Canada, such as we have not seen yet in other so-called democratic countries.

At the present time, when the war has already commenced in China and is leading towards war against the Soviet Union, and when the bourgeoisie is prepared to use all measures to carry further its offensive against the workers, the question of the fight against legalism in our Parties and full preparedness for illegality is a life-and-death question.

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PARTY UNPREPARED TO MEET ATTACK

What are the lessons of the experiences of our Party in connection with the attack the bourgeoisie made upon it, the attempt to crush and break the Party organization and the declaration that it is illegal? The first lesson, in my opinion, is that in our Party there was a deep-seated "legalism." Since 1929 our Party had continuously spoken about the necessity of preparations for illegality. Our Party had also made some formal preparations before the raids for illegality. But our Party did not prepare either the membership of our Party or the Canadian working class. Our Party did not constantly keep the working class vigilant against any attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress and break up our Party and deprive the Party of its most important leading cadres.

So, when the attack came upon the Party, the masses and the Party membership were not prepared to meet that attack by mobilizing in struggle. The formal approach of some small technical arrangements for illegality could not meet the attack. The question of preparation for illegality is a political question directly linked up with the general line of the Party in the present period.

There is no doubt in my mind but what legalism (other expressions of which I want to go into now) is rooted in the well-known right-wing tendencies—underestimation of the sharpening of the class struggle, underestimation of the war danger; rooted in the fact that our Party as a revolutionary Party has not learned, even though it has engaged in very bitter struggles, that it cannot go into those struggles, cannot lead those struggles, cannot develop as a Bolshevik Party unless it is prepared to meet the very sharpest attacks of the bourgeoisie in this period.

This "legalism" found very wide expression in our Party and found expression in quite unexpected places. It found expression in currents and tendencies in dealing with the basic fundamental principles and policy of our Party which were inevitably raised by the fact that the leadership of our Party was charged under Section 98 of the Criminal Code which declares all organizations unlawful which advocate force and violence in the achievement of any governmental change.

SUPPRESSION AND SOCIAL DEMAGOGY

This trial inevitably placed in the foreground the very basic and fundamental attitude of our Party toward the state power—the attitude and role of our Party with regard to the proletarian revolution, the attitude of our Party towards all the basic and fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism. How did our Party meet this

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situation? Our Party was correct when it made the main issue of the trial and the main issue against the suppression of the Party the role of the Party in the struggle for the immediate needs of the workers, the issue of the role of the Party in the immediate struggles, and particularly in the economic struggles. But our Party was entirely unprepared to deal with the basic questions, or link them up correctly with the question of the role of the Party in the immediate struggles, and it was precisely upon this question that the bourgeoisie and the government, directly intervened, at the same time as it put the leadership of our Party on trial with a tremendous, intensive propaganda campaign against our Party. This campaign, comrades, is very important because it would be a great mistake to believe that the "democratic" government of Canada was so foolish as to expose itself openly to the masses as a crass "dictatorship," by discarding all democratic fig-leaves, in the arrest and imprisonment of the leaders of our Party. Not at all. The attorney-general at the time of the trial opened an exceptional campaign, making great efforts to explain to the masses that for them there is every possibility of realizing all of their will to change the present situation through the ballot—an exceptional campaign to bolster up the prestige of parliament, an exceptional campaign to bolster up the democratic government, and together with this the attorney-general gave out the slogan "Free Speech"—and in fact the slogan "Free Speech" was the slogan under which the government attacked and arrested and imprisoned the leaders of our Party.

The slogan of free speech was even embodied in a special pamphlet issued by the attorney-general who directly conducted and engineered the trial. And this free speech slogan was interpreted to mean that for all those who are opposed to capitalism, and who wish to change capitalism, who wish to change anything that is wrong with the present system, there is full free speech, provided they do not advocate force and violence. Of course this was also accompanied, comrades, by a tremendous wave of the usual demagogy of the bourgeoisie. I am only pointing out those unusual features of their demagogy around which the trial took place.

STATING FULL REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM

Our Party, in dealing with this basic question of why the working class, under conditions of a revolutionary situation, must use force and violence in order to attain power, displayed an inability to explain this great revolutionary question to the workers. Our Party did not come forward with our revolutionary position. There were even displayed tendencies which can only be characterized as despic-

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able liberalism, in hiding our program, in trying to conceal our program, in trying to evade the issue of the role and final aims of the Communist Party.

Our Polburo even found it necessary to take a very sharp stand against such tendencies which penetrated even into working class papers—tendencies to say, for example, that the unemployed struggle and the strike struggles go on in spite of the Communist Party and thus to try to ward off the attack of the bourgeoisie. The leadership of our Party and our Party is well convinced of the correctness of our revolutionary program. Nevertheless, in the face of this sharp attack, we see such liberal distortions of our program. From these facts, we must conclude, comrades, that the deep-seated roots of legalism are very often grossly underestimated and that such an underestimation represents a great danger. I raise these questions so sharply, because I think that they are very, very significant for the Communist Party of U. S. A. as well as for ours.

SHOP WORK AND FIGHT AGAINST SUPPRESSION

The second most important lesson from these events is the fact that the task, the main task, the main solution for the situation in which the Party found itself after the attack, was not something new but something very old. It was the question of shop work. When our Party leadership was in prison, when our Party meetings were completely prohibited, when all the old forms by which we thought we had contact with the masses, through propaganda meetings, were cut off, our Party in some places, particularly in Ontario, found itself groping for contacts with the masses. We found that never before had the Party fully realized the significance of the old advice of the Comintern that it must root itself in the large factories; that the Party as a whole had never grasped the life and death significance of roots in the shops. And therefore the task which had to be placed most sharply, the lesson which had to be placed most sharply, was not some new lesson, but was a very old lesson that has been talked about in our Party now for eight or ten years—and that was the question of shop work, of penetration into the big factories.

The question of the fight against legalism, the question of the preparations for illegality assumes a tremendous significance today, and the question of our Party learning how to work under conditions of illegality assumes a tremendous significance. The experiences of the Canadian Party must serve as a tremendous warning of the danger of underestimation of this question and the danger of a mere formal or technical approach to the question of the preparation for illegality.

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Particularly I think this is true for the American Party, because while I do not want to insult the American bourgeoisie by saying that they take lessons from the Canadian bourgeoisie, nevertheless the American bourgeoisie undoubtedly will not hesitate to take lessons of this kind from the Canadian bourgeoisie. It is quite significant that Mr. Somerville, who conducted the trials against our Party, has made special visits to Washington and the whole record of the trial of the Canadian Communist Party leadership has been entered in the congressional records. This in itself is sufficient to justify laying greater emphasis upon this question by the American Party.

FAIL TO CRUSH THE PARTY

The Canadian bourgeoisie intended to crush our Party, and to make it impossible for our Party to lead struggles. The Canadian bourgeoisie has not succeeded in crushing our Party, and has not succeeded in disrupting our Party. Our Party today is not disrupted. Our Party has suffered tremendous blows. Our Party has lost its main leadership, which weakens the whole struggle of the Canadian revolutionary workers. But our Party has, in the last eight months, conducted very, very significant struggles, the resistance against the capitalist offensive and terror has grown and the ranks of our Party have become more firm.

Our Party has led the struggle against the attack upon the Party. In connection—though not sufficiently—with the struggle of the unemployed and with the struggle against wage cuts, our Party became the center of a tremendous united front movement against the conviction of the Party leadership under Section 98 of the Criminal Code. Reformist trade unions embracing 90,000 members, which is approximately one-third of the workers organized in the reformist unions in Canada and a total of workers' organizations embracing nearly 200,000 demanded the repeal of Section 98. These figures may not assume great importance in the United States, but in Canada these figures are quite significant.

OUR STRIKE STRUGGLES

This broad united front movement, comrades, is still growing. It shows us that with the proper preparations, with the proper linking up of the struggle against the political reaction of the bourgeoisie with the daily struggles of the workers and with the proper appreciation of the necessity of keeping the workers constantly vigilant against the imminent attacks of the bourgeoisie upon the Party of the working class, that the masses will come to the defense of the legality of our Parties.

The revolutionary movement in Canada has made some significant

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successes in strike struggles during the past period. The revolutionary unions have led practically all of the strikes that have taken place in Canada during the past eight months, with few exceptions. What has been the result of these struggles? Two years ago strikes were conducted by our revolutionary unions and after the strikes were over, our Party and the revolutionary unions had nothing left. The most significant thing about the strikes in the past eight months in Canada is that in the cases of the most important strikes our revolutionary unions have succeeded, not in fifty per cent organizational consolidation of these workers engaged in the strikes but in almost one hundred per cent consolidation. This is particularly true in the case of the two most important strikes. The Estevan miners who struck last September have retained the position they gained in the struggle by almost 100 per cent adherence and have consolidated themselves as an integral part of the unions. In the case of the Frazer mill strike of the lumber workers, these workers retained their organized position almost 100 per cent. In the case also of similar strikes, the revolutionary unions have in their ranks today the majority of the workers engaged in these strikes. This has meant an increase in the membership of the working class unions and has given the workers a tremendous weapon for the fight against the reformist unions because not only have the workers conducted strikes. They have won strikes. In the case of the Frazer mill strike, the revolutionary union won the demands. Also in the case of the Estevan miners, in spite of the tremendous terror, in spite of the murder of three miners, the union was able to force many concessions from the coal barons.

Since last January the miners' union has been preparing for the expiration of the agreement. (The situation in the mine fields in Canada is somewhat different than in the United States. In the Western coal fields the Mine Workers Union of Canada embraces 85 per cent of the miners, with 15 per cent or 10 or 12 per cent in the U. M. W. A.) The union has been, since January, constantly preparing for the expiration of the agreements and is now entering upon a very severe struggle against any attempt of the coal operators to introduce wage cuts in the agreements and to smash the union.

In the unemployed field, comrades, our Party has carried through the decision of the Political Bureau last December that the downward trend of the unemployed movement must be stopped and transformed into an upturn. There is today in the unemployed movement in Canada a definite upturn. The March 3rd demonstration and delegation to the Bennett government constituted a definite turn in the mass movement of the unemployed and today

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we can say that the upturn is continuing in the struggle of our Party against the cutting off of relief with the coming of spring.

Among the farmers our Party has experienced some gains. For example, in the elections among the farmers the Farmers Unity League has become a very important factor as was shown recently in the Athabaska elections, where a revolutionary candidate gained 2300 votes.

In connection with the building of our Party, I can record here that the attempt of the bourgeoisie to suppress our Party has not resulted in a decline in the membership of the Party and at the present time our Party is gaining members and is building its ranks.

It would be a great mistake, comrades, if we would deduce from these remarks any conclusions that our Party has experienced a tremendous turn to the masses. The application of the basic contents of the C. I. resolution to the American Party in its application to the Canadian Party has not been discussed but I am sure that we can say without hesitation that all of the tasks contained in the C. I. resolution to the American Party with regard to the isolation of the Party from the masses, with regard to the failure of the Party to carry through an essential change in its relation to the masses, in all essential respects, the C. I. resolution to the American Party applies also to our Party. I consider that it is already superfluous here and particularly after the discussion that has taken place, to go into the question of what are the main weaknesses of our Party with regard particularly to the question of carrying through an essential change in our relation to the masses and also with regard to the great question today of the war danger, the danger of an attack upon the Soviet Union.

THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL FASCISM

I only want to deal with one question very briefly. Through all of these developments of the struggle in Canada we have seen one very marked tendency that stands out and which I think has been given great importance in the resolution of the Comintern. We have experienced a veritable deluge of "left" maneuvers and "left" phrases on the part of the social reformists in Canada. And I want to say, comrades, that if in the United States the fight against reformism is of first rate importance, then in Canada we can even make a stronger formulation. We can say that our Party is confronted with the danger of social democracy, of the Labor Party, becoming a mass party.

It would be a great mistake to have the mechanical conception that many members of our Party have with regard to the demagogy

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of the social reformists, that it can only go so far, that it is limited, that the social reformists will not resort to new maneuvers constantly in each new situation, that there comes a day when we can back the social reformists into a corner where they can maneuver no longer.

Such an idea with regard to the maneuvers of the social-reformists is not borne out by the facts. We see the social-reformists able to maneuver in every situation with the aid of the bourgeoisie, and we see some very great maneuvers on the part of the social-reformists in Canada.

I want to give a number of examples. When the Party came out and mobilized a struggle against Section 98, the social-reformists tried to head that struggle by introducing a bill in parliament to amend Section 98.

When the Party mobilized the demonstration on March 3rd in connection with the unemployed delegation to Ottawa and forced Bennett to try to get out of the situation by stating that he was considering the question of contributory unemployment insurance, the former Minister of Labor of the Liberal Party and a leader of the A. F. of L. introduced a bill for this insurance and stated that he was not opposed to non-contributory unemployment insurance, but if the workers make contributions to the insurance fund, they will be able to have more to say about the distribution of these funds. Such is the demagogy of the social-reformists. On this question also, the Labor Party has gone on record for non-contributory unemployment insurance, for relief benefits of $25 per week. They have adopted our slogan. The Labor Party has introduced into the Federal House of Commons a motion and bills for the nationalization of the banks and of industry; they have introduced motions for the establishment of a State Planning Commission supposedly on the lines of the State Planning Commission in the Soviet Union.

All of these demagogic maneuvers of the social-reformists constitute for us a tremendous menace because up until now our Party has not found the solution for the fight against the social-reformists.

In my opinion there are many questions involved here, but I have no time to go into them. But I think the solution for this question is not in something new, but is in the correct carrying through of the tasks which the C. I. has already set before both the Canadian and American Parties. But in carrying through those tasks and for the exposure of the social-reformists there is one thing I want to emphasize, and that is that in the leadership and organization of the preparations of the economic struggles, of the organization of strike struggles, the unemployed struggles, we must not commit the mistake

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of separating economic struggles from our political struggles and our ideological struggles.

Up to now our Canadian Party does not know the meaning of an ideological struggle. The bourgeoisie today is coming forward constantly with new theories, new demagogy, with old theories revamped in new forms, and the social-reformists are coming forward now with new theories or old ones in new forms, and it is a mistake to think that if we do not link up with our leadership and preparation and organization of the economic struggles, the ideological and political struggles, that we will be able to expose the reformists and to expose the bourgeois theories.

I want to give two examples in connection concretely with the exposure of the social-reformists. First, one example in connection with demands and how our Party does not know how to expose the "left" demands of the social-reformists. When in the Alberta miners' struggle the U. M. W. came forward with a 10 per cent wage increase demand the miners' union did not know how at first to react to this demand for a 10 per cent wage increase, which was part of the preparations to put across a wage-cut through an Arbitration Board.

Some took the position that we must have nothing to do with these U. M. W. locals, as such, but we must have a united front from below only, and by this was meant that we must only call on the U. M. W. miners to strike and join the union. This was characteristic of a strike understanding of the united front. And here I want to point out that we have in Canada, and I believe also in the U. S., to yet expose the theory that every lower functionary of the reformist trade unions is a social-fascist.

With the correct application of the united front in relation to these U. M. W. locals including even some local officials, we see today in Alberta how a real workers' union can represent real unity and can give leadership to the main locals of the U. M. W. in the mine fields and isolate the corrupt top officials, who stand exposed nakedly as the opponents of unity. For example, the president of the main local of the U. M. W. directly participates in the work of the Union, and in the conferences of the Union, which become more and more broad unity conferences, and his local is 100 per cent behind the Union. The bureaucrats dare not attempt to expel the locals from the U. M. W. because by this, they would only hasten the development of the conviction of the U. M. W. miners that the best unity is in the ranks of the Mine Workers' Union of Canada. Real approaches of working class unions to the workers in the corrupt reformist unions, by proposing simple measures of coming together and discussing things, accompanied by a correct and clear

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presentation of what is necessary to prepare for and carry through a successful struggle against wage cuts, and by the measures to organize the most courageous of these workers into opposition groups, can not be replaced by general agitational slogans and calls upon these workers to join the working class unions, nor can the united front tactic be reduced to a narrow conception of committees. A real working-class union must do also everything to establish real real fraternal, and solidarity relations with the locals of the reformist unions on the basis of the common needs of the workers, and those relations are the beginning of the isolation of the corrupt officialdom of the reformist unions.

In regard to the relations between the American and Canadian Parties, I want to say that in the past this has been approached in a formal manner. We must unite more closely our revolutionary movements, and the solution lies in the revolutionary unions, in the linking up closely of the work of our revolutionary unions in the immediate struggles of the workers.

The question of the change of our Party in its approach to the masses is not a new question, in my opinion. In some places, among some members of our Party there is a feeling that there is something unserious in the constant holding of meetings, at which we declare that the turn has not been carried through, and declare with the utmost solemnity that we intend to carry through the turn. This feeling sometimes leads to pessimism and gives rise to doubts about the general line of the Party. These doubts must be turned to useful channels. They must result in a firm Communist realization by study and by experience, of the fact that for every difficulty there is a Bolshevik solution. In my opinion, the new C. I. resolution is a tremendous weapon for our Party in Canada as well as in the United States. That resolution can only be of use when we find the real Bolshevik solution in the full concrete application of it in the actual struggles of the working class.

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The End of the Third Year of Crisis Reveals Further Deepening

By LABOR RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

THE American economic crisis is approaching the end of its third year, and business activity, instead of showing signs of improvement, continues to decline to lower levels. The desperate attempts of the Hoover administration to stimulate business activity through inflationary measures have failed completely. During the past few weeks industrial production has dropped considerably, stocks and commodity prices have fallen to new low levels, employment has declined and business failures have increased. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has temporarily bolstered a large number of banks on the verge of bankruptcy, but has not remedied the underlying financial situation.

According to an estimate by R. G. Dun & Co., industrial production during the first quarter of 1931 declined 29.6% as compared with the corresponding quarter of 1931; sales fell 28.7%. These figures indicate that the crisis is deepening at an even more rapid rate than last year. During the first three months of 1931, production was 26.5% below that of the preceding year, and the decrease in sales amounted to 27.7% below 1930.

Many important corporations are being seriously undermined by the sharp decrease in profits and the drastic drop in property values and security and commodity prices. Several of them have no available means of meeting large obligations maturing in the near future. They find it difficult to obtain loans from banks which fear to risk precarious commercial and industrial loans at a time when there is no sign of business improvement.

This appears to have been the case with the Middle West Utilities Company, huge holding company and the key firm in the enormous and intricate Insull power trust. Middle West Utilities went into "equity receivership" after its officials said that they were unable to pay a $10,000,000 note issue maturing in June. Samuel Insull, head of the trust, was appointed one of the three receivers,

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and it is expected that efforts will be made to reorganize the company. Several other units in the Insull trust have also gone into receivership.

Of almost equal importance is the crash of the International Match Company, important Kreuger affiliate, whose president has asked the courts to declare the company bankrupt because of its inability to meet current obligations. The International Match Company went into "equity receivership" soon after the Kreuger collapse.

These developments have dissipated much of the optimism professed by many business men and politicians soon after the enactment of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. The gloomy views now prevailing in business circles are reflected in the practically uninterrupted decline in stock prices. The Dow Jones average for industrial stocks on April 20 was 59.46 compared with 88.78 on March 8; railroad stocks on the same day averaged 23.02 compared with 40.45 on February 16; utilities stocks averaged 24.40 compared with 35.92 on March 8.

Writing in the *Annalist*, J. P. Jordan, member of an important firm of "management engineers," views the perspectives of the crisis as follows:

> "For two full years," he says, "we have all hoped that the depression in business had spent its force. Nineteen hundred and thirty was bad; 1931 was worse, and now 1932 seems generally worse than 1931. But the most alarming feature right now is that there seems to be few signs that 1933 will be much better. If this is so, and there are many signs to point that way, it becomes most obvious—and in many cases purely a matter of arithmetic—that further and deeper adjustments must be made if the working capital of thousands of concerns is to be saved from serious impairment."

DECLINE IN BASIC INDUSTRIES

During the first quarter of the year every important basic industry experienced a sharp contraction in production and in none of them are there any apparent evidences of improvement.

Steel production for the first three months amounted to 4,331,667 tons against 7,954,645 tons in the corresponding period of 1931. A further decline occurred in the first two weeks of April, bringing the rate of operations down to 21% of capacity. Automobile orders were extremely small, despite the fact that a number of automobile manufacturers, including Ford, announced gran-

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diose plans for mass production. The deepening crisis in the construction and railroad industries has also affected steel production. Reflecting the same developments, pig iron production declined from 5,453,135 tons in the first quarter of 1931 to 2,904,299 tons in the corresponding period of this year. The *Annalist* index of pig iron production stands at 27.9 in March as compared with a level of 59 in March, 1931.

During the same period *automobile production* declined almost half. Figures for production in the first quarter of the last four years were as follows:

	1932	1931	1930	1929
January	123,075	178,344	283,609	422,538
February	122,890	229,811	345,962	497,705
March	137,000	289,398	417,118	626,076

Every branch of the *construction industry* showed a sharp decline during the first quarter. Construction contracts awarded in 37 states during the first three months are estimated at $286,078,700 against $833,340,800 in the first quarter of last year. Contracts for residential construction amounted to $85,130,200 in 1932 against $233,205,900 in 1931; non-residential building contracts to $188,757,800 against $272,177,100; and public works and utilities contracts to $82,190,700 against $327,959,800.

The comparison of building contracts with previous years shows still more clearly the depth of the crisis in this nearly dying industry. The figures of building contracts awarded daily during the last five years shows that those awarded during the first three months of 1932 averaged less than 40% as much as they did in 1931, 25% of the 1930 average, less than 20% of the 1929 average, and *only* 14% *of the* 1928 *average.*

The figures for "contemplated work," as reflected by reconstruction permits, shows an even greater slump. For the first quarter of 1932 the total was only 37% of what was planned for the same period in 1931, and work actually contracted for will doubtless show a much greater drop below the work contemplated in 1931, when the actual contracts covered only one-third of the amount of work for which permits had been granted.

Railroad freight car loadings, reflected the general trend of business activity, receded sharply, amounting to about seven million cars during the first quarter, as compared with nine million in the corresponding period of last year and eleven million in 1930. Leon-

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ard Ayres of the Cleveland Trust Company estimates that the total of railroad freight per capita of population will be about half as much in 1932 as it was in 1913—an "almost incredible" drop in volume, he calls it. The freight originated by all the railroads amounted to about 12 tons per person in 1929 and will be hardly more than 6 tons per person in 1932. The index of freight car loadings stood at 60.1 in March, 1932, as compared with 77 in March, last year.

FAILURES, SALES AND EXPORTS

Value of *exports* of merchandise from the United States dropped as much in 1932 as it was in 1913—an "almost incredible" drop of this year, while value of imports dropped from $175,000,000 to $131,000,000 during the same period.

Business failures showed a marked increase. A total of 9,141 failures occurred in the first quarter of 1932, involving liabilities of $275,420,622. The number exceeded that of the first quarter of 1931 by 7.8%, while the liabilities were higher by 28.4%.

The Federal Reserve Board reports that *department store sales* throughout the country during the first quarter were 20% below the first quarter of 1931. This drop reflects the continued decline in employment and wage scales and the pauperization of large sections of the farming population and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

INFLATION "REMEDIES"

The capitalist class "experts" are coming out more and more openly for inflation, which will raise the cost of living of the workers. One of the latest statements is by the well-known confidential Whaley-Eaton Service. It says in its *Foreign Letter*, April 26, 1932:

> "The deterioration has gone too far to permit allegiance to our orthodoxy in administration of financial systems. The very simple fact is that payment of debts has become impossible at present price ranges. The menace of social disturbance has to be reckoned with. Accordingly, there is but one thing to do, either in America or anywhere else, and that is to change the value of the currencies. The remedy is heroic, but it must be employed."

UNEMPLOYMENT INCREASES

Factory employment in the United States, according to conservative United States Bureau of Labor Statistics figures, has declined at least 35% since before the crisis.

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Building trade unions, reporting to the American Federation of Labor, show that in March their membership was 63% totally unemployed, while 15% more were on part-time. This is a large increase over a year and two years ago. In March, 1931, their unemployed amounted to 52% and in March, 1930, to 41% of the entire membership.

For trade unionists as a whole, the American Federation of Labor reports "employment this spring has increased less than usual. From February to March 1, trade union reports on unemployment showed less than half the improvement of last year and only one-fifth the employment gain of 1929." In other words, the extent of unemployment was almost as great in February and March this year as it was in January, while in previous years these months had shown some drop in unemployment.

Although the American Federation of Labor figures give only 8,000,000 out of work on March 1, practically all other non-official agencies give a higher figure. Mauritz Hallgren, editor of the *Nation,* who has been making a special tour of the country to study the situation, considers the American Federation of Labor figure to be "absurdly low." He says: "*The true figure must be around* 15,000,000, *or perhaps more.*"

It is estimated that there will be a reduction of approximately $1,500,000,000 in the amount of public improvements in 1932 as compared with 1931, and that this alone will mean an increase of at least 1,000,000 more in the ranks of the unemployed.

WAGE CUTS AND DROP IN PAYROLL

Total payrolls of manufacturing industries have dropped from an index of 104.6 in April, 1929 to 49.6 in February, 1932, this index being based upon reports now covering 89 separate industries. In other words these industries are now paying less than half the total amounts they paid to wage earners before the crisis.

There is no accurate record kept of wage cuts. However, of those companies reporting regularly to the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, a total of 891, establishments, or 5.3% of the total, reported making wage cuts in one month alone (the month ending February 15) averaging 10.5%. These were, of course, in addition to the thousands of other concerns that had reported their wage slashes in previous months.

Poor's *Business and Markets,* April 20, 1932, in predicting a second steel wage cut and the probability of the slash for federal

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employees going over, declares that "before industry can leave depression" wages must be further "adjusted or corrected" downward. And the *Financial Chronicle*, April 23, carries an editorial headed "Lower Wages an Inevitable Step in the Process of Economic Readjustment." This reflects the opinion both in Washington and in Wall Street.

American Federation of Labor statisticians estimate that workers' real buying power (workers' incomes in terms of goods they will buy) was, even in January, 1932, nearly 40% below the 1929 level. Since then it has doubtless dropped still further.

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Marxism and the National Problem

By J. STALIN

(Continued from last issue)

II. THE NATIONAL QUESTION

A NATION represents not simply an historical category, but an historical category of a definite epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism. The process of the liquidation of feudalism and the development of capitalism represents at the same time a process of the grouping of peoples into nations. This was the case, for example, in Western Europe; the British, the French, the Germans, and the Italians were consolidated into nations with the victorious advance of capitalism triumphing over feudal dismemberment.

But the establishment of nations signified in these countries at the same time their conversion into independent national States. The English, French, and other nations represent at the same time English and other States. The Irish, who remained outside this process, do not alter the general picture.

Matters proceeded somewhat differently in Eastern Europe. While in the West the nations developed into States, in the East there were consolidated international States, States consisting of several nationalities. Such were Austro-Hungary and Russia. In Austria, the most developed in a political respect were the Germans; they took on themselves the business of uniting the Austrian nationalities into a State. In Hungary, the most adapted for State organization were the Magyars—the kernel of the Hungarian nationalities—and it was they who united Hungary. In Russia, the role of unifier of the nationalities was taken on by the Great Russians who had at their head a powerful and organizationally consolidated aristocratic military bureaucracy.

Thus matters proceeded in the East.

This peculiar mode of foundation of States could take place only under conditions where feudalism was not yet liquidated, under conditions of weakly developed capitalism, when the backward and petty nationalities who had been pushed into the background were not able yet to consolidate themselves economically into entire nations.

But capitalism was beginning to develop also in the Eastern

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States. Trade and paths of communication were developing. Large towns were arising. The nations were becoming economically connected. Capitalism, bursting in on the tranquil life of the suppressed nationalities, awakens them and sets them into motion. The development of the press and the theatre, the activity of the Reichstag (in Austria) and of the Duma (in Russia) facilitated the strengthening of "national feelings." The national intelligentsia began to be penetrated by "the national idea" and began to act in the same direction.

But the suppressed nations which awoke to independent life did not yet group themselves into independent national States: they encountered on their path the extremely strong resistance of the ruling strata of the dominant nations which had already long before put themselves at the head of the State. They had come too late!

Thus were consolidated into nations the Czechs, the Poles and others in Austria; the Croats, the Rumanians, and others in Hungary; the Latvians, the Lithuanians, the Ukrainians, the Poles, the Armenians and others in Russia. That which was an exception in Western Europe (Ireland) became the rule in the East.

In the West, Ireland responded to its exceptional position by a national movement. In the East, the awakened nations had to answer in the same fashion.

Thus were accumulated the circumstances which impelled the young nations of the East of Europe on to the path of struggle.

The struggle began and flared out, in particular, not between the nations as a whole but between the ruling classes of the dominant and suppressed nations. The struggle was conducted usually either by the urban petty-bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation against the powerful nation (the Czechs and Germans) or by the village bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation against the landlords (the Russians and Poles), or by the whole "national" bourgeoisie against the ruling aristocracy of the dominant nation (Poland, Lithuania, Ukraine).

The bourgeoisie, this is the class that takes the prime role in action.

The basic question for the young bourgeoisie is the question of the market. Its aim is to sell its goods and to emerge victorious in competition with the bourgeoisie of a foreign nationality. Hence its desire to guarantee for itself its own "national" market. The market is the first school where the bourgeoisie learns nationalism.

But the question is usually not limited to one of the market. The semi-feudal, semi-bourgeois bureaucracy of the dominant nations enters into the struggle with its own peculiar methods. The bour-

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geoisie of the dominant nation—it makes no difference whether it is petty-bourgeoisie or big bourgeoisie—obtains the possibility of dealing more rapidly and decisively with its competitors. Forces are joined and there is put into operation a whole series of restrictive measures against the "foreign" bourgeoisie, passing over to definite acts of repression. The struggle becomes transferred from the economic to the political sphere. Limitation of freedom of movement, suppression of language, limitation of electoral rights, closing down of schools, religious suppression—all these things are piled on the heads of the "competitor." Of course, such measures are pursued not only in the interests of the bourgeois classes of the dominant nation, but also specifically in the interests of the, so to say, caste aims of the ruling bureaucracy. But from the point of view of results this is quite irrelevant; the bourgeois classes and the bureaucracy in each case march hand in hand—it makes no difference whether in Austro-Hungary or in Russia.

The bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation, suppressed on all sides, naturally comes into movement. It appeals to its "native" kith and kin in the lower ranks and begins to cry out about the "fatherland," giving out its own cause as one of the nation as a whole. It recruits an army for itself out of its "co-nationals" in the interests of the fatherland. Nor do the lower ranks always remain unresponsive to the appeals. The repression from above weighs heavily also on them, evoking their dissatisfaction.

Thus the national movement begins.

The strength of the national movement is determined by the degree of participation in it of the wide strata of the nation, the proletariat and peasantry. Whether the proletariat comes under the banner of bourgeois nationalism depends on the degree of development of the class contradictions, on the consciousness and degree of organization of the proletariat. The conscious proletariat has its own well-tried banner and it will on no account march under the lead of the bourgeoisie.

As far as the peasantry is concerned, their participation in the national movement depends primarily on the character of the repression from which they are suffering. If the repression touches questions of the land, as was the case in Ireland, then wide masses of peasantry immediately come under the banner of the national movement.

On the other hand, if, for example, in Georgia there is not any serious *anti-Russian* nationalism it is primarily because there is not there a class of Russian landlords or Russian big bourgeoisie which could give grounds for such nationalism among the masses. In Georgia, there is an *anti-Armenian* nationalism, and this is because there is there an Armenian big bourgeoisie which, striking at the

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small and still unconsolidated Georgian bourgeoisie, drives the latter on to the path of anti-Armenian nationalism.

In dependence on these factors, the national movement takes on either a mass character, becoming more and more extensive as in Ireland and Western Galicia, or it becomes converted into a series of petty-quarrels, as in some of the towns of Bohemia.

The content of the national movement, of course, cannot be everywhere the same; it is determined as a whole by the various demands which the movement arouses. In Ireland the movement has an agrarian character, in Bohemia it is concerned with language; in one place there is a demand for civil rights and freedom of religious observance, in another place a demand for its own officials or its own Assembly. In the various demands there are not infrequently illustrated the various features which characterize the nation as a whole (language, territory, etc.). It is worthy of notice that nowhere is to be encountered demands concerning Bauer's all-embracing "national character." This is easily understandable; "national character" taken in itself is something which cannot be seized upon and as was correctly remarked by Strasser "it is not a basis for politics."[15]

Such, in general, are the forms and character of the national movement.

From what has been said, it is clear that the national struggle under the conditions of rising capitalism represents a struggle of bourgeois classes between themselves. Sometimes the bourgeoisie succeeds in drawing the proletariat into the national movement and then the national movement *in appearance* takes on an all-national character. But this is only in appearance. In *essence* it remains a bourgeois movement adapted and favorable chiefly to the bourgeoisie.

Limitation of freedom of movement, deprivation of electoral rights, suppression of language, closing down of schools and other acts of repression provoke the workers in no less degree, if not in a greater degree, than the bourgeoisie. Such a position can only retard the cause of the free development of the cultural forces of the proletariat of the oppressed nations. It is impossible to speak of complete development for cultural abilities of the Tartar or Jewish workers when they are not allowed to use their national language in meetings or lectures, and when their schools are closed down.

But the policy of national repression is dangerous for the cause of the proletariat also on another account. It distracts the attention

[15] V. Strasser. *Der Arbeiter und die Nation*, 1912, p. 33.

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of wide strata from social questions, questions of class struggle, to national questions "common" to both proletariat and bourgeoisie, and this creates a favorable soil for the lying propaganda of "harmony of interests" and for suppressing the class interests of the proletariat and for spiritual enslavement of the workers. Thereby is also set up a serious barrier to the cause of the uniting of the workers of all nationalities. If a considerable portion of the Polish workers up to now still remains apart from the international workers' movement, if it still remains bound by the spiritual fetters of the Polish bourgeoisie, it is primarily because the anti-Polish policy of those in control creates the basis for these fetters and hinders the emancipation of the workers from them.

But the policy of repression does not end with this. "From a "system" of oppression it not infrequently passes to a system of the torturing of nations, to a system of massacre and pogrom. Of course, the latter is not everywhere and always possible, but where it is possible—in circumstances of the absence of elementary rights and freedom—then it frequently assumes terrible forms threatening to drown in blood the cause of uniting the workers. In the Caucasus and South Russia there have been not a few examples. "Divide and rule"—this is the object of the policy of torture. And in so far as such a policy is successful it represents a tremendous blow for the proletariat and a very serious barrier to the uniting of the workers of all nationalities in the State.

The workers are interested in the complete fusion of all their comrades into a single international army, in the speedy and final emancipation from the spiritual fetters of the bourgeoisie, and in complete and free development of their cultural forces, whatever the nation to which they belong.

Consequently the workers are struggling and will continue to struggle against the policy of repression of nations as well as against the policy of torture in all its forms. Consequently Social Democracy in all countries proclaims the right of nations to self-determination.

The right of self-determination, *i.e.*, that only the nation itself has the right to determine its fate, *i.e.*, that no one has the right to interfere by force in the life of the nation, to destroy its schools and other institutions, to violate and prohibit its customs, to suppress its language and deprive it of its rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social Democracy will support each and every custom and institution of a nation. Fighting against the use of violence against nations, it will support the right of nations to determine their own fate carrying on at the same time an agitation against harmful institutions and customs in order to

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make it possible for the toilers of the given nation to free themselves from such things.

The right of self-determination means that the nation can build itself according to its own wishes, it means that it has the right to build its life on the basis of autonomy, that it has the right to enter into federal relations with other nations, and that it has the right of complete separation. The nation is sovereign and all nations have equal rights.

This, of course, does not mean that Social Democracy will support any demands of the nation. A nation has the right to return even to an old order of things. But this does not mean that Social Democracy subscribes to such a demand. The obligations of Social Democracy in defending the interests of the proletariat and the rights of nations consisting of different classes are two different things. Struggling for the right of nations to self-determination, Social Democracy sets itself the aim of putting an end to the policy of oppression of nations, of making it impossible and thereby preventing the struggle between nations, reducing it to a minimum.

This essentially distinguishes the policy of a conscious proletariat from the policy of the bourgeoisie which attempts to deepen and inflame the national struggle, to prolong and sharpen the national movement.

It is precisely for this reason that the conscious proletariat cannot come under the "national" flag of the bourgeoisie. It is precisely for this reason that the so-called evolutionary-national policy preached by Bauer cannot be the policy of the proletariat. The attempt of Bauer to identify has "evolutionary-national" policy with the policy of the "contemporary working class" presents an attempt to subordinate the class struggle of the workers to the struggle of nations.

The fate of the national movement, in its essence a bourgeois movement, is naturally connected with the fate of the bourgeoisie. The final end of the national movement is possible only with the ending of the bourgeoisie. Only under the reign of Socialism can complete peace be established. But it is possible even within the framework of capitalism to reduce the national struggle to a minimum, to make it as far as possible harmless to the proletariat. The examples of Switzerland and America are themselves testimony of this. For this purpose it is necessary to democratize the country and to give to the nations the possibility of free development.

(To be continued)

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On the Theoretical Foundations of Marxism-Leninism

By V. ADORATSKY

(*Concluded*)

Translated from the Russian by L. KATZ

TO exhaustively characterize all of the tremendous and complex work of Lenin as a leader of the class struggle of the proletariat is a huge task, which still awaits its fulfillment. The many-sided work of Lenin as leader and theoretician of the proletariat have as yet hardly been studied (for instance, Lenin's role as the leader of civil war, his work as the organizer and leader of the dictatorship of the proletariat, even his role as leader and theoretician of the Party have not as yet been sufficiently fully and exhaustively illuminated and evaluated.) It would be impossible to compress in one article a full characterization of Lenin as the leader of the proletariat, as the guide of its political struggle—such a work would require a large book and even a series of books. Here we can only take note of a few of the most important theses of revolutionary tactics of Leninism and we will point out how tremendously important for the success of the revolution was consistent, firm Leninist Party leadership based on a strictly scientific analysis of the objective situation.

First of all, it is necessary to point out that Leninism, correctly following the teaching of Marx about the *Party and its role as the vanguard of the working class*, developed and deepened this teaching on the basis of the new experiences of revolutionary struggle.

In order to lead the class struggle of the proletariat it is necessary to organize its vanguard, the Communist Party, the most determined, advanced part of it, that is "pushing ahead," that "understands the conditions, the course and the general results of the labor movement," that knows how to defend the general interests of the whole proletariat regardless of nationality, that knows how to defend "the general interests of the movement in its entirety" at each and every stage of the struggle, that is capable of evaluating the movement "not only from the point of view of its past but also of its future." (Marx and Engels, *The Communist Manifesto.*)

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Such a Party must be trained and hardened through long drawn out struggle in a spirit of greatest consistency of principle.

> "It seems," Engels wrote to Bernstein in 1882, "every workers' party of each big country can develop only through internal struggle, which fact, generally speaking, corresponds with the dialectic laws of development. The German Party became what it is today through struggle of the Eisenachians with the Lassalians, a struggle where the fight as such was the main thing. . . . Moral preachings will not cure infantile sicknesses which, under present conditions, one has to go through with at least once."

That, of course, does not at all mean that various shadings are always proper in a Party. The strength of a Party is in its unity, based on a program and tactics strictly consistent with principle. This unity is attained through struggles against all deviations from revolutionary Marxism, against right opportunism that tries to subordinate the class struggle and the proletariat to bourgeois influences and leadership (an example of this type of opportunism is Menshevism), and also against the essentially identical abandonment of the class struggle that masks itself with left slogans, left phrases (such as the "left" liquidators, recallists, ultimatists, "forwardists" during the years of reaction (1908-1910); in a similar "left" garb Trotskyism appeared in 1924-1926). Of great importance also is the struggle against conciliatory tendencies that serve merely as a cover for opportunism. Recognizing in words the correctness of the line of revolutionary Marxism, the conciliators abstain in practice from any struggle against its perversions (and carry on in practice a struggle for its perversion). That is why conciliatorism is in fact a highly injurious and dangerous variety of opportunism. Under present conditions, the main danger comes from the direction of right opportunism.

Lenin always emphasized the importance of a consistent "merciless" struggle against all varieties of opportunism, and knew how to conduct that struggle in such a way that we should learn from his example how to do it. Lenin conducted a constant and consistent struggle against right opportunism. (See *What Is to Be Done?*, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward*, *The Collapse of the Second International*, and numerous other works). But, alongside with it, Lenin also conducted a struggle against "left" doctrinairism, which is particularly important for the winning of the masses, because the masses, being inexperienced, unorganized, not having sufficiently broken away from petty-bourgeois prejudices, desperate from oppression from which they see no way out, are usually greatly influenced by anarchistic phrases, by an apparently "left" demo-

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gogy, which is in fact nothing more than the reverse side of right opportunism, "the punishment for its sins," as Lenin expressed it. A general review of the Party struggle for Bolshevism on two fronts was given by Lenin in his famous pamphlet directed mainly against the "lefts": *The Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism.* Lenin wrote there:

> "If it were impossible to solve the first historical task (the task of drawing the conscious vanguard of the proletariat to the side of the Soviet power and the dictatorship of the working class without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social chauvinism, then it is equally impossible to carry out the second task, which is already becoming a burning issue today and which consists in the ability to lead the masses to the new position, that would make certain the victory of the vanguard in the revolution—the carrying out of this immediate task is impossible without the liquidation of left doctrinairism, without a complete victory over its errors, without doing away with them." (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XXV, p. 230.)

And what are the characteristic features of Marxist-Leninist tactics? The basis of the theory, politics and tactics of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism is, as we have already noted above, *contact with the masses,* the ability to direct their struggles with a view to the attainment of Communism, leading the masses towards it, raising the level of their consciousness and organization. The Communist Party lends consciousness, organization and invincibility to the movement of the masses. The Party, however, as has already been pointed out above, obtains its ideas from the actual struggles of those very masses.

Lenin said that the basic law of all revolutions is the experience of the masses. He repeatedly called attention to how highly Marx valued "the historic initiative of the masses." In Anglo-American socialism both Marx and Engels criticized most sharply their isolation from the labor movement. (Preface to the Russian translation of the book, "Letters of J. P. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and Others to F. A. Zorge and Others.")

The victory of the revolution is assured only when the initiative and energy of the masses is widely developed and their spontaneous struggle receives conscious leadership and organization.

The success of revolutionary tactics is guaranteed by the deep sympathy of the masses. And that sympathy must be won through a long, stubborn struggle both prior to the conquest of power by the proletariat and afterward during the dictatorship of the proletariat.

> "The proletarian revolution is impossible without the sympathy and support of the vast majority of the toilers to their vanguard,

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the proletariat. But this sympathy and support is not gained all at once, is not decided by voting, but is won in the course of long, difficult, exhausting class struggle. The class struggle of the proletariat for the sympathy and support of the majority of the toilers is not finished with the conquest of political power by the proletariat. *After* the conquest of power the struggle *continues* only in *different* forms. The Russian revolution took place under conditions that were exceptionally favorable for the proletariat (in its struggle for the dictatorship) because the proletarian revolution happened at a time when all of the people were armed and when all of the peasantry was anxious to destroy the power of the landlords, and was highly indignant at the 'Kautskyian' policies of the social-traitors, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries.

"But, even in Russia, where at the time of the proletarian revolution, conditions were exceptionally favorable, where there took place all at one time a unification of the entire proletariat, the entire army and the entire peasantry—even in Russia, the struggle of the proletariat for the realization of its dictatorship, the struggle of the proletariat for the sympathy and support of the majority of the toilers took months and years." (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XXIV, *Greeting to the Italian, French and German Communists*, pp. 481-482.)

This long, consistent struggle and work directed toward winning the sympathy of the masses, must be conducted systematically! It is necessary to win the sympathy of the broadest masses through the tactical approaches, tasks, and objects for which the Communist Party is striving.

In the matter of tactical leadership of the revolutionary struggle, the proletariat must be guided by two basic theses. In the first place, Leninism does not limit the movement to any one particular form of struggle, but rather strives to master all forms. Various forms of proletarian struggle are the strike movement, demonstrations, parliamentary struggle, revolutionary utilization of parliament when the situation demands it, and also the higher forms of struggle: armed uprising, civil war, dictatorship of the proletariat. In the second place, Leninism approaches the problem as to what particular form of struggle is to be utilized, historically, in connection with and taking into consideration the entire concrete situation. In the choice of means it is necessary to show the greatest flexibility.

"Marxism," Lenin wrote in September, 1906, in the article *Partisan War*, "differs from all primitive forms of socialism in the fact that it does not limit the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It recognizes the most diverse forms but, at the same time, it does not 'invent' them; it only generalizes, organizes, lends consciousness to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes that arise spontaneously during the course of the movement. Marxism is unqualifiedly hostile to all abstract formulas, all doctrinaire prescriptions, and demands an attentive attitude toward the

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> *mass* struggle that is taking place, a struggle, which creates ever new and ever more diversified forms of defense and offense, with the very process of the development of the movement, the growth of the consciousness of the masses and of the sharpening of the economic and political crises. Therefore Marxism consistently refuses to reject any form of struggle whatever. Under no circumstances will Marxism limit itself to only the forms of struggle possible and existing only for the time being, recognizing the *inevitability* of new forms of struggle, not known to the active workers of the given period, as soon as a change takes place in the social relations. Marxism, in this respect, learns in mass practice, if one may use that expression, and is far from any pretensions of *teaching* forms of struggle to the masses, invented by swivel-chair 'systematizers.' " (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 80.)

In the *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism* Lenin also pointed out the necessity of learning all, positively all, forms of struggle, of striving to master them in order to be able to apply them all with equal success, to be prepared for all changes in the situation, which in revolutionary times occur rapidly and suddenly and because of which a change in the form of struggle is required.

> "History generally, and the history of revolutions in particular," Lenin wrote in the above-mentioned pamphlet, "is always richer in content, more diversified, active and 'cunning' than is imagined by the best parties, by the most conscious of vanguards of the most advanced classes. And this is readily understood because the best vanguards express the consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of thousands, while the revolution is accomplished at the moment of a particular upsurge and tension of all human capacities by the consciousness, will, passion and imagination of tens of millions lashed by the most sharp struggle of clases. Two very important practical conclusions are to be drawn from this: first, that the revolutionary class, in order to accomplish its task, must know how to master *all* forms or sides of social activity without the slightest exception (finishing up the task after the conquest of political power, sometimes even at the cost of great risk and great danger, that which was not completed prior to the conquest); second, that the revolutionary class must be prepared for a most rapid and unexpected change of one form into another." (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XXV, *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism*, pp. 231-232.)

The Communist Party must by all means master all forms of struggle without exception, because the struggle of the proletariat and of the mass of toilers will become a real class struggle and will lead to the goal of building a Communist society only when the organizing, leading influence of the vanguard, consciously striving for the realization of Communism, will be assured. In the article *Partisan War* Lenin wrote that all forms of struggle can be per-

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verted if they are not utilized in definite correlation with each other and under the leadership of the Communist Party.

> "It is said: the partisan war brings the conscious proletariat nearer to the drunkards and vagabonds. That is true. But from this only one conclusion may be drawn, that the Party of the proletariat cannot consider partisan war as the only, not even as the main form of struggle; that this form must be subordinated to other forms, must correspond to the main forms of struggle, must be ennobled by the enlightening and organizing influence of Socialism. But in the absence of the *last* mentioned condition *all*, absolutely *all*, forms of struggle in bourgeois society bring the proletariat nearer to various non-proletarian strata above and below it, and, if left to themselves, to the spontaneous course of events, they are bound to get worn out, perverted, prostituted. Strikes, left to the spontaneous course of events, are being perverted into 'alliances', into a collaboration of workers with their bosses *at the expense* of the consumers. The parliament is perverted into a house of prostitution where a gang of bourgeois politicians trade wholesale and retail in 'people's freedom,' 'liberalism,' 'democracy,' 'republicanism,' 'anti-clericalism,' 'Socialism,' and all other marketable articles. The newspaper is perverted into a commonly accessible procuress, into a tool for mass debauchery, for coarse flattery to the low instincts of the mob, etc., etc. Social democracy does not know of such universal forms of struggle as would securely separate the proletariat by a Chinese wall from strata of population somewhat above or somewhat below itself. Social democracy uses different means in different epochs *always*, however, applying them under *strictly* defined ideological and organizational conditions." (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. X, pp. 86-87.)

The question of choice of the means of struggle should be solved only by taking into account the entire concrete objective situation. And here we approach the second of the basic theses which we have noted.

Lenin wrote in the article *Partisan War*, that—

> "Marxism demands an absolutely *historical* approach to the question of forms of struggle. To place this question independent of the historically concrete situation means not to understand the very A. B. C. of dialectic materialism. At different moments in the course of economic evolution, dependent upon different conditions, political, national-cultural, custom of living, etc., different forms of struggle come to the fore and become the main forms, and in connection with this, the secondary, collateral forms of struggle in their turn also undergo changes. To attempt to answer yes or no to the question of a definite form of struggle without first considering in detail the concrete surroundings of the given movement at the given state of its development means to abandon completely the basis of Marxism." (Lenin, *Works*, Vol. X, p. 81.)

The revolutionary tactics of Marxism-Leninism is built upon taking into consideration the entire objective situation, all of which

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serves the purpose of going ahead without breaking away from the masses, moving together with the masses, at their head, leading them, helping them to raise to higher levels. Not to retreat in the face of difficulties, but to overcome them by an ever-more broad effort, to attract new forces, promoting the unfolding of mass activity, raising the organization and consciousness of the masses, leading the offensive systematically, consistently, not permitting "logical" (accomplished in thought only) *skipping* over a *few* concrete stages at a time, as Lenin once expressed it, seeing in this an unpardonable sin against dialectic materialism.

In the course of this movement, with such a leadership, the masses are able to learn the art of revolutionary politics, to raise the level of their own political consciousness, as a result of their own actions, their own mistakes, failures, and victories.

A splendid characterization of the essence of Marxist-Leninist tactics was given by Lenin in the article *Karl Marx*:

> "The basic task of the tactics of the proletariat was defined by Marx in strict conformity with all the premises of his materialistic dialectic world outlook," Lenin wrote there, "only an objective consideration of the entire totality of relationships of all classes of the given society and, therefore also a consideration of the objective stage of development of that society as well as a consideration of the relationship between it and other societies can serve as a basis for the correct tactics of the advanced class." (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 28.)

For extraordinarily valuable material relating to this question see the above-mentioned work of Lenin, *Infantile Sickness of "Leftism" in Communism*.

In order to be a materialist-dialectician it is absolutely insufficient to merely repeat in a general way the main principles of Marxism. One must study the experiences of the class struggle of the proletariat, must know how to reflect the concrete circumstances of that struggle, must emphasize the basic tasks and raise correct slogans, must lead the struggle of the proletariat, must find the next link in the chain which when grasped will enable us to hold on to the entire chain.

VII. HOW ARE LENIN'S WORKS TO BE STUDIED?

In conclusion, we will discuss briefly the question of how Lenin's works are to be studied. In beginning such a study we must keep in mind, first of all, that Lenin is the political leader of the proletariat. His literary productions must be studied in close connection with his entire activity, with the entire situation in which this ac-

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tivity took place. Only under these conditions will it be possible to correctly evaluate and understand the full content and significance of the literary works of Lenin—more than this, it is necessary to tie up such a study with the contemporary struggle of the proletariat.

An example of the way how to study Lenin is the way that Lenin himself studied the works of Marx and Engels. One can see from a number of articles of Lenin (especially in articles on Marxism and on the works and correspondence of Marx and Engels) how Lenin was able to draw lessons in materialist dialectics from a study of the works of Marx and Engels.

In reading the correspondence of Engels, Lenin paid special attention to the formulation in one of his letters: "Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide for action." Not one of the Marxists who studied Marx and Eengels ever paid due attention to this sentence. But Lenin pointed out, and very correctly, that this formulation contains in condensed form, expressed wonderfully well, the essence of Marxian theory.

Lenin emphasized as a particularly outstanding feature of the method of Marx and Engels their live contact with the mass movement and their unique attitude towards it. With all their tremendous volume of knowledge and their great amount of reading, they were free from the slightest trace of narrowness, bookishness. Ever since Socialism was transformed from a utopia into a science, with them it became necessary to deal with it as with a science, *i.e.*, to study it, Engels said. It is necessary to thoroughly master all the valuable knowledge inherited from the past. But that alone is not enough. It is necessary to be able to analyze the experience of the contemporary mass struggle taking an active part in that struggle, leading it, helping to raise this mass struggle to higher and higher levels. This ability Marx and Eneels possessed in a very high degree. And Lenin considered precisely this particular feature as especially valuable, especially deserving to be imitated.

> "He (Marx—V. A.) values *most of all* the fact that the working class makes world history heroically, self-sacrificingly, with initiative," Lenin wrote in the preface to the Russian translation of the *Letters of K. Marx to L. Kugelman.*

Marx and Engels placed an extraordinarily high value on the "historical initiative of the masses" and were not afraid that in the activity of these masses there would be mistakes, unavoidable in such cases, where the building of something new is undertaken and not merely a repetition of the past.

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The most revolutionary work can turn out to be not free from mistakes of one kind or another. The movement of the masses, their new experience, their creative effort, the institutions that are being created by them, the outlining of plans—all this brings in so much, that it easily outweighs possible errors. And besides, there is, after all, no other way to teach the broad masses except by way of their own actions, their own experience.

Marx and Engels never attempted in a doctrinaire manner (not connected with experience) to force the views which they considered correct, but which could be understood by the masses only through their own experience and not through mere preachings, sermonings, instructions. (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. XL, pp. 166-167.)

However, this cautiousness of approach in the matter of teaching the masses does not exclude, but on the contrary, assumes very exacting demands in matters of theory. In the preface to the Russian translation of the book, "Letters of J. P. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and Others to F. A. Zorge and Others," Lenin takes particular note of that merciless, actually frenzied, warfare which Marx conducted against opportunism.

Theses promulgated at some previous time must not be applied to new conditions as a ready formula, as a prescription good for all time, without taking into account those changes that have taken place since the time the work was written, without making a thorough study of everything new that has taken place since then and which could not have been foreseen even by the greatest minds.

Studying the works of Marx and Engels it is necessary to take into consideration the particular circumstances under which they lived and acted, under which their works were written, what conditions were responsible for the formulation of this or the other slogan, against whom were their polemics directed, *i.e.*, we must take their works in all their concreteness. And the lessons derived from such a study should be utilized in the present-day struggles of the proletariat. This study should be conducted in the closest possible connection with the contemporary movement, in connection with the problems of contemporary class struggle. Only with such an approach, and by strictly adhering to these conditions will the basic requirement of Marxism-Leninism be fulfilled, that theory must be "not a dogma, but a guide for action," not torn away from life by secluded study, but be that knowledge, that science that is a most valuable weapon in the class struggle of the proletariat.

Precisely such an approach to science, the labor movement, and the mass struggle, as was made by Marx and Engels, do we also

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find in the case of Lenin. Lenin, just as Marx, valued in the revolutionary class "the ability to build the future"; he was able to lead the mass struggle, was able to struggle "furiously" against perversions of revolutionary Marxism, no matter in what field it revealed itself or under what flag it marched. Lenin knew how to take into account all the uniqueness of a particular situation and at the same time was also able to study and utilize the works of the founders of scientific Communism for the struggle of the working class under new conditions, studying and taking into account those conditions in the manner required by the Marxist method.

In studying Lenin's works we should strive to acquire also all these features of Lenin's manner of working. We must acquire the ability to struggle for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, because more than once did we have to face opportunistic perversions of Lenin's teachings after his death, and we will have to face it again in the future. We are already familiar with the attempts of the Trotskyist opposition to pervert Leninism in a revisionist manner; and during the years 1928, 1929, 1930, etc., similar aims were revealed in the right opposition as well as in the half-Trotskyist "leftism" of those years.

As an example of how Lenin studied the works of Marx we might point to Lenin's article *Marx on the American "Re-division of Land"* (a slogan of the Russian peasants—Trans.). (See Lenin, *Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 219-227.)

Having pointed out the particular surroundings under which the article of Marx was written against G. Kruge (whose views were quite similar to those of the Russian Socialist-Revolutionists of the 90-s), having compared the American farmers' movement of the middle of the nineteenth century with the peasant movement in Russia at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, Lenin followed the example of Marx, who knew how to evaluate the revolutionary democratic character of the peasant movement while at the same time he fought against the petty-bourgeois illusions of the peasantry. Lenin utilized this example for the purpose of fortifying his struggle against the Mensheviks, who did not grasp the full significance of the peasant movement and who were unable to see in the peasantry the most important ally of the proletariat in its fight against czarism.

Another example—the study Lenin made of the question of the state. Examining everything written by Marx and Engels about these questions Lenin established their real views which had been perverted by the opportunists. This alone was a great service of Lenin to the theory of revolutionary Mrxism. But Lenin did much more. Basing

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himself theoretically on the views of Marx and Engels, utilizing their method, Lenin developed further the theory of Marx taking into consideration the new experience of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat during the years of 1905 and 1917, and created the theory of the Soviet state as the actual form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. A study of the fundamental works of Lenin dedicated to this subject (*State and Revolution, Will the Bolsheviks Maintain State Power?* (1917), *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade* (1918), *Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat* (1919), and a number of others) will reveal in full detail how Lenin made use of the Marxist method in order to solve the most important problem of the revolution—the problem of the organization of the state power of the revolutionary proletariat.

An examination of Lenin's fundamental work on this subject, *State and Revolution,* will show how thoroughly Lenin studied the works of Marx and Engels, how carefully he made notes of their different thoughts, their separate, sometimes mere hurried remarks, whose theoretical value, however, their brevity notwithstanding, was very great. In his popular lecture *On the State,* published in Vol. XXIV, pp. 362-377 of his works, which contains a general review of the question of the state and as a valuable addition to the above enumerated works, a preface to a deeper study of the subject, Lenin also gives a few practical suggestions as to how the works of Marx and Engels are to be studied. (See Lenin, *Works,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 363, 364, 365.)

. . We mentioned these two examples but we could point to a great many more. In the works of Lenin we will find an elucidation of questions relating to all three integral parts of Marxian theory: philosophy, political economy and Socialism. In all fields of Marxian theory Lenin fully mastered the material and pushed ahead, developed further, the Marxian theory, worked up in detail a number of the most important problems on the basis of facts of the latest historic development of the proletarian revolution.

In the *sphere of philosophy* he achieved this by elucidating anew the problems of materialistic dialectics, working up the questions of the theory of knowledge of dialectic materialism (See Lenin, *Works,* Vol. XIII, pp. 303, 32-195), studying and explaining the crisis of contemporary natural science (See Lenin, *Works,* Vol. XIII, pp. 205-256), illuminating anew the questions of historic materialism. In the *sphere of economics* we shall mention Lenin's studies of capitalism in Russia, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*; on imperialism, *Imperialism—The Final Stage of Capitalism;* on the

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agrarian question, *The Agrarian, Program of Social Democracy During the First Russian Revolution* (1905-1917), *The Agrarian Problem at the End of the 19th Century*, and *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*; and finally, works relating to problems of the economics of the transition period, *State and Revolution*, *The Next Tasks of the Soviet Power*, *Economics and Politics in the Epoch of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, the pamphlet, *On the Food Tax*, etc.

A particularly large amount of space is devoted to the question of *Socialism* in the *Selected Works* of Lenin. There we find all questions pertaining to politics and tactics of the class struggle of the proletariat, questions relating to the Party, its program and organization, problems of the dictatorship of the proletariat—of the Soviet state and building of Socialism. And here also Lenin based himself on the works of Marx and Engels with respect to theory while at the same time making a thorough study of the entire complex situation of the class struggle of his day in all its concreteness.

In all these problems Lenin mastered the very essence of the subject, analyzing it from every point of view, very thoroughly compiled every bit of material to be found in Marx and Engels pertaining to every subject studied by him. And it is our business to strive to study and utilize the works of Lenin in a similar fashion. The works of Lenin are a regular treasury of knowledge indispensible to the proletariat, important for the leadership of its struggle for Communism.

In studying the works of Lenin and of his activity we will clearly see the great significance and role of revolutionary theory, we will see the manner in which theory connects up with the class struggle of the proletariat, that takes place in actual life, how theory derives its contents from the class movement, from the struggles of tens and hundreds of millions of those oppressed and exploited by capital, we shall learn how the Communist Party leadership of the proletarian revolution is built up, under what conditions the revolution will be victorious. And we should learn from the example of Lenin how to take part in that struggle.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, that was built up under the leadership of Lenin and trained in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism continues and develops (in the direction pointed out by Lenin) the Socialist construction begun under his leadership. Tens of millions of proletarians and toilers are taking part in that gigantic task. Taking into consideration the experience of the struggle and of the effort of construction engaged in by the many million mass of proletarians, peasant cooperators, struggling for Communism, the

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Leninist Central Committee with Comrade Stalin—the best continuer of the work of Lenin—at its head and our entire Party, is carrying out and developing further the politics, tactics and theory of Marxism-Leninism.

A study of the present-day work of the C. P. S. U. and of the Socialist construction that is taking place under its leadership, in which we are participants, a study of the entire international revolutionary movement and of the struggle of the Communist International which was also created under the direct leadership of Lenin—all this is of tremendous importance to a study and an understanding of Leninism. Only when studied in close connection with this struggle that is taking place at the present time is the profound depth of the theoretical contents of Lenin's works duly revealed. All of them were written with the purpose in view to insure for the proletariat victory in its great struggle.

It is worth while calling the attention of those taking up a systematic study of the *Selected Works* of Lenin, to the fact that Comrade Stalin's book, *Questions of Leninism,* is an excellent text book for the study of Leninism. It contains a condensed characterization of the most important, basic problems of Leninism. This book should be used as the basic text by all who wish to thoroughly familiarize themselves with the series of questions which were worked out and solved by the genius of Lenin.

Comrade Stalin—the leader of the C. P. S. U.—is the best, the most outstanding theoretician of Leninism. After the death of Lenin, a struggle was carried out under Stalin's leadership against Trotskyism, against the Trotskyist-Zinoviev opposition, against the right opportunists. Comrade Stalin is brilliantly carrying out the Leninist line both in practical politics as well as in the realm of theory (both of which are indissolubly connected).

A study of Lenin's works is of most serious and tremendous significance for the class struggle of the proletariat. Leninism generalizes the experiences of the world-wide proletarian revolution, studying all forms of the class struggle, in order to utilize all of them in the best possible way, to promote and develop that science, which is particularly needed by the proletariat as the most advanced leader in the movement for liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation. This science must become the property of the proletarian armies many millions strong, that will strengthen the coordination of their activities, raise their consciousness. The more organized, energetically and consciously the numberless armies of the proletariat and toilers will advance against the rule of capitalism, the sooner will the yoke of age-long slavery be turned into dust.

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Marxist Study Courses

A COMMUNIST, to fulfill his role as an advanced worker, must be able to impart to the workers engaged in struggle the significance of these struggles, the lessons to be learned from them, and a wider comprehension of the historical role of the working class. He must be able to make these struggles successful, not only from the point of view of winning this or that demand—which, of course, is of first importance—but also from the point of view that the workers engaged in these struggles emerge from them with a keener political understanding. This is a task for every Communist.

But the ability to do this does not arise out of thin air. Communists and revolutionary workers must consciously train themselves and equip themselves for this task. Upon our ability to do this successfully depends our success in not only recruiting new workers for the Party, but also retaining them in the Party and training them further. We will be able to build a stable, stalwart Communist Party and mass revolutionary movement in proportion as we are able to imbue our new recruits gained from mass struggles with a fundamental Communist ideology. But we ourselves—we who are to do this as part of our Communist duty—must be prepared for it. Hence, the importance of study for every class-conscious worker and, especially, for every Communist.

For this purpose the series of *Marxist Study Courses*, now being published by *International Publishers*, are of great value. Publication has already been begun on two courses: *Political Economy* and *History of the Working Class*. Each course is to consist of twelve lessons, each lesson published in pamphlet form of no less than 48 large sized pages at intervals of about two weeks. In this way it becomes possible for workers to undertake a *systematic* study of these two subjects which are so basic to an understanding of the revolutionary working class movement and for them to acquire the equipment necessary to the carrying out of the manifold tasks confronting the working class today. Primarily, these courses should serve as material for workers' study circles, section and unit classes and in the workers' schools. They are also suitable for individual study, since they are complete with easily obtainable references, and questions and answers. The language is lucid and the material simply arranged. With the price at only 15 cents a lesson, it is made available for broad circles of workers.

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Political Economy, the first lesson of which has already been published, is a study of the economic structure and processes of capitalism. It explains the Marxist theory of value, the composition of capital and surplus value, the causes and consequences of crisis and the impossibility of solving them within the frame-work of capitalism, the era of imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism and the epoch of the proletarian revolution, and has a critique of the theories evolved by the so-called Socialists of the Second International concerning imperialism and democracy. From this meagre outline, it at once becomes evident that this course contains a great deal on the questions which today, in the midst of the world crisis, the workers are asking with more and more persistency and which every worker who considers himself politically advanced should be able to answer. It is this fundamental knowledge of the structure of capitalism and its inevitable destruction that we must know how to explain clearly to the workers.

The first and second lessons of the *History of the Working Class* have already been published. This course takes up the most important events in world history as it effects the working class and the growth of the revolutionary movement from the great French Revolution of 1789 to the present day. The first half of the course confines itself to a study of the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the 19th Century—the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution in England and the growth of Chartism, the revolution of 1848 in France and Germany and the foundation of the Communist League by Marx and Engels. One lesson is confined to its significance. The last part of the course takes up the working class movement in England and Germany up to the war and the international movement through the post war period. In a study of this course workers can acquire a general perspective of the direction of the development of the working class movement, obtain a knowledge of its past struggles and traditions and thus be better equipped in educating others to the historical role of the working class.

Two additional courses, *Building Socialism* and *Historical Materialism,* are being planned in this series. The thing to do now is to begin systematic study of the material already made available, wherever possible drawing workers into study circles. Such activity will help to raise the political level of the working class and help raise our struggles to higher and higher levels.

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